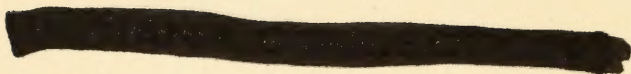


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INDIANA
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THE TRAIL OF DEATH

LETTERS OF BENJAMIN MARIE PETIT

By
IRVING McKEE

INDIANAPOLIS
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1941

PREFACE

THE removal of the Indians from the Middle West a hundred years ago was an event of prime importance in the growth of the United States. One of the most striking episodes in this process was the Potawatomi emigration from Indiana in 1838. More contemporary records and a greater volume of published material about it are extant than are to be found in connection with the removal of the Miami and other Indians from this part of the country. The journal of the emigration, a large part of which is attributed to William Polke, the conductor of the party, was printed in Volume XXI of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Contemporary newspapers and documents in the National Archives contain details. The late state representative, Daniel McDonald, of Plymouth, realizing the injustice and harshness of the treatment of the Potawatomi, brought together some of the information in the little volume, *Removal of the Pottawattomies from Northern Indiana*, most of which is included in his *A Twentieth Century History of Marshall County, Indiana*. Facts about the emigration were given publicity in the movement which resulted in the erection by the State of Indiana of the imposing monument to Chief Menominee and his band at Twin Lakes, Marshall County. But much remains to be told of the struggle—on one side, to adjust these natives to an imported standard of civilization, and, on the other, to cast them out of the only land they knew.

The Petit letters, for the most part translated and published for the first time, illuminate this phase of pioneer times with almost brutal clarity. The devoted young priest, seeking with all his waning strength to defend an immense, but moribund, cause; the hapless Potawatomi, caught between an advancing tide and a menacing wilderness; the untiring and unscrupulous government agents, harried by the incoming white men—all these meet here in brief but photographed conflict. The

inevitable defeat, a tragedy in the classic sense, more than justifies the title given it—The Trail of Death.¹

To H. Vernon Davis, of Culver Military Academy, without whose scholarship and perseverance the translation of the letters would not have been complete or accurate, special acknowledgment must be made. The Reverend Thomas T. McAvoy, C. S. C., Archivist of the University of Notre Dame, made available much of the material and provided invaluable help at every turn.

Since first prepared, the manuscript has been admirably corrected and clarified by the staff of the Indiana Historical Society.

IRVING McKEE

CULVER MILITARY ACADEMY

June, 1941

¹Jacob P. Dunn, *True Indian Stories* . . . (Indianapolis, 1908), pp. 234-52.

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Symbols

IO.....	Indian Office
ISL.....	Indiana State Library
UNDA....	University of Notre Dame Archives
ALS.....	Autograph Letter Signed
C.....	Copy

INTRODUCTION

THE Potawatomi, or "People of the Small Prairie," were probably the most numerous of the Indian tribes living in Indiana before the incoming white man drove them to other lands. Having moved southward from northern Wisconsin and Michigan, the tribe in 1800 occupied the region at the southern end of Lake Michigan from the Milwaukee to the Grand River, including a large part of northern Illinois, a strip across Michigan to Lake Erie, and all of Indiana above the Wabash and Pine Creek. Although the total population of their fifty widely separated villages was only twenty-five hundred, the Potawatomi, a hunting and fishing people, required this large region for existence.

The French traders and Jesuit missionaries who met the Potawatomi between 1640 and 1670 at Green Bay, at Sault Ste. Marie, and near Lake Huron described them as "the most docile and affectionate toward the French of all the savages of the west."¹ In the French and Indian War, concluding with the sanguinary Pontiac Conspiracy of 1763, the Potawatomi were active in behalf of their traditional allies. When the defeated French abandoned their American possessions to Great Britain by the Treaty of Paris, the isolated Indians faced the choice of supporting established British traders on the one hand or newly arrived settlers from the East on the other. Again they made the expedient but ultimately disastrous decision, fighting against the Americans from 1775 to 1795 and from 1812 to 1815. A comparative peace and quiet then settled upon them, which was interrupted only by their forced migration westward to make way for the incoming whites.

The first white men to befriend the Potawatomi were Jesuit missionaries, and it was in these "black robes" that they placed their greatest trust. From 1690 to 1761 the Jesuits maintained the St. Joseph Mission near the northern border

¹Frederick Webb Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (U. S. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin* 30, 2 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1907, 1910), II, 290.

of Indiana and present site of Niles, Michigan.² Here the Potawatomi of northern Indiana as well as Michigan received ministrations which deeply impressed them and which they remembered long after the last black robe had departed.

Their tendency to cling to the ceremonies and teaching of the Jesuit fathers was evident in 1821 when Isaac McCoy, a Baptist missionary to the Miami at Fort Wayne, visited the Potawatomi of the Yellow River, near Plymouth, Indiana. A trader had described their chief, Menominee, as a native preacher who exhorted his followers to abstain from vice, especially liquor, and to adhere to good morals.³ Upon Menominee's earnest solicitation McCoy, accompanied by a young half-breed interpreter, Abraham Burnett,⁴ came to his Yellow River village, consisting of four little bark huts, just north of Twin Lakes, in 1821 and again the following year to hold religious meetings for the tribe. As Menominee was only about thirty years old at this time,⁵ he could not have known the Jesuits, who had been absent for almost sixty years, but McCoy observed that this chief and his band practiced morning and evening prayers together in the Catholic fashion, with sermons by the leader.

²See George Paré, "The St. Joseph Mission," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVII (1930), 24-54.

³Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1840), pp. 95-96.

⁴Burnett was a Potawatomi, born in Michigan about 1811. He was a student at McCoy's mission school at Fort Wayne and accompanied McCoy on several trips as an interpreter and traveling companion. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 100 ff., 113, 138, 139; "Abram B. Burnett, Pottawatomie Chief," *Kansas State Historical Society, Collections*, 1913-1914 (1915), XIII, 371-73. He is mentioned *post*, p. 113.

⁵Letter of Henry Willmering, S. J., of St. Mary's College, Kansas, to Irving McKee, June 9, 1938. The letter states: "Chief Menominee is probably the same individual as Alexis Menominee, listed in the parish register of St. Mary's Church at Sugar Creek [Kansas] for the year 1841 on page 75. He was born about the year 1791, was married to Angelique Sagike, had one daughter, Mary Ann, aged six years. The 101 entry in the Burial Register tells us that he died on April 15, 1841, aged about fifty, and was buried in the Sugar Creek cemetery." Menominee was baptized Alexis on the Yellow River in Indiana. See *post*, p. 15. A sketch of Menominee is given in Daniel McDonald, *A Twentieth Century History of Marshall County, Indiana* (2 volumes. Chicago, 1908), I, 12-16.

During McCoy's visits the Indians attempted to persuade him to come and live among them. He declined, but in 1822 he left Fort Wayne to establish among the Potawatomi to the north a new post which he called Carey Mission.⁶ It was located near the present Niles, Michigan.

This institution continued for a decade, providing instruction and caring for the spiritual welfare of the Indians in the neighborhood. From his experience in the mission field McCoy became convinced that the best future for the Indians lay beyond the Mississippi. Their weakness for whisky and their gullibility in dealing with traders made him eager to establish them in a place far removed from the white man. In 1828 he led a small group of Ottawa and Potawatomi on an exploring expedition to the West. The next year he received an appointment as general agent in the mission work of his denomination among the Indians who migrated west of the Mississippi, and during the succeeding years he also held commissions from the government for exploring and treating with the Indians in the West. In 1830 Carey Mission was closed.⁷

Apparently the Potawatomi to whom McCoy and his assistants ministered were friendly but not wholly receptive of the Baptist teaching, yearning still for the teaching of the black robes. "Supposing it would please us," McCoy wrote, "they frequently told us that they still recollected portions of prayers which they had been taught, and two or three old persons told us that 'they had had water put on their faces,' as they expressed it."⁸

When a black robe, Father Rezé,⁹ finally came again to

⁶Under a provision of the Chicago treaty of 1821 Isaac McCoy was appointed teacher to the Potawatomi and by arrangement with the Baptist Board of Missions founded the mission. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 102-6, 113-14, 139-40, 145-51; Charles J. Kappler (ed.), *Indian Affairs. Laws and Treaties* (2 volumes. Washington, D. C., 1904), II, 200; Cecilia Bain Buechner, *The Pokagons* (Indiana Historical Society, Publications, X, No. 5, Indianapolis, 1933), p. 292.

⁷McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 260 ff., 321-27, 337, 402.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁹Frederic Rezé, a native of Hanover, was ordained in Rome in 1822 and emigrated to the American missions in 1825. On February 25, 1833, he was consecrated the first bishop of Detroit. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IV (1908), 759; XII (1911), 320; Buechner, *The Pokagons*, p. 298.

the St. Joseph in 1830—the first in almost sixty years—Chief Leopold Pokagon¹⁰ and other Potawatomi in the vicinity sought baptism, and when Rezé left soon afterward, Pokagon petitioned Father Gabriel Richard, vicar-general of the Bishop of Cincinnati in Detroit, for another priest. “An American minister,” said the chief, “wished to draw us to his religion; but neither I nor any of my village wished to send our children to his school, nor go to his meetings; we have preserved the way of prayer taught our ancestors by the black robe who used to be at St. Joseph.”¹¹

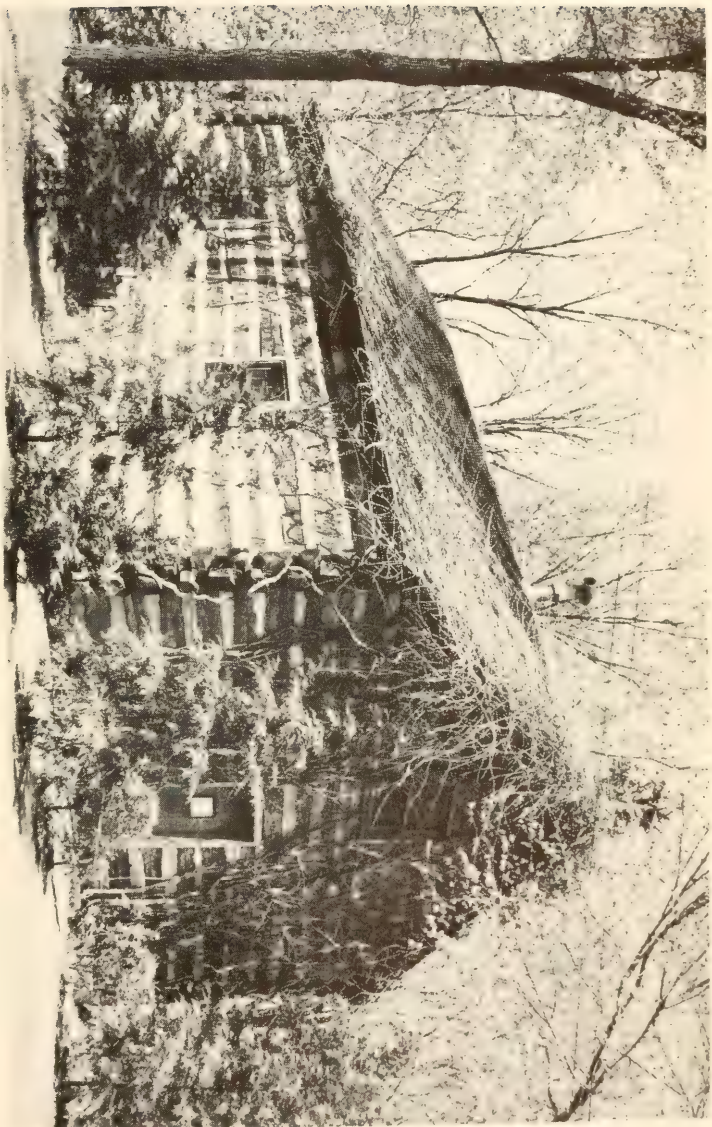
Thus it was that Father Badin¹² came to reside near Niles and at Notre Dame from 1830 to 1835. He labored among the Potawatomi in Indiana and Michigan, aided faithfully by his interpreter, an elderly spinster named Angelique (“Liquette”) Campeau,¹³ who had taught the Indians near Detroit for thirty years. Badin purchased fifty arpents of land in Michigan near the Indiana border on which he built a chapel, and also a tract of land on St. Mary’s Lake in St. Joseph

¹⁰Pokagon was a civil chief of the first rank of the Potawatomi. His village lay in what is now the southeast corner of Bertrand Township, Berrien County, Michigan, about six miles from the site of Carey Mission. By the treaty of Chicago in 1833 this land was ceded to the government. From proceeds of the sale of a section of land granted to him and his wife by the treaty of 1832, he purchased 712.8 acres in Silver Creek Township, Cass County, Michigan, and he and his band moved to that place in 1837. Here with the help of a few white neighbors they built a Catholic church. Buechner, *The Pokagons*, pp. 294, 310-31; Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 274; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 274.

¹¹Letter of Father Stephen Theodore Badin, September 1, 1830, in *Annales de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi* (hereafter cited as *Annales*), IV (1830-31), No. xxiii, 547.

¹²Stephen Theodore Badin came to America in 1792, and was ordained a priest on May 25, 1793. After serving in Kentucky and at Monroe on the River Raisin, he came to Pokagon and his people in August, 1830. *Dictionary of American Biography*, I (1938), 488-89; *Annales*, IV (1830-31), No. xxiii, 546-50.

¹³Father Badin wrote of her, “She is 68 years old and she has spent more than thirty years at the school of my venerable friend, Father Richard [in Detroit]. I do not know of a priest more industrious, more penitent, more patient, more learned, more genuinely pious than she is in all this country. . . . Her activity is equal to her charity and zeal.” Quoted in Buechner, *The Pokagons*, p. 302.



Replica of Father Badiu's Chapel on the University of Notre Dame Campus

County, Indiana, where he erected a cabin-chapel in which he and his successors lived.¹⁴

Father Badin was joined in 1833 by Father Louis Deseille,¹⁵ a Flemish priest. Deseille, looking for new souls to save, in the fall of 1834 visited Menominee's Village on the Yellow River, set up a cross, and proceeded to give instruction.¹⁶ He baptized the chief with the Christian name Alexis on August 24, 1834, "under the branches of an old, shady oak tree."¹⁷ Several other Indians were inducted into the faith on the same occasion and on the next day at Lake Maxinkuckee, a few miles to the southwest.

The following spring Deseille and Bishop Bruté¹⁸ journeyed from South Bend to Chechaukose's Village on the Tippecanoe, where there was an Indian chapel.¹⁹ These Potawatomi were greatly impressed by the unprecedented visit; Deseille wrote to the Bishop afterwards: ". . . at the first news of your arrival, which spread from village to village

¹⁴On the tract at St. Mary's Lake Father Badin also established the first orphans' home and school in Indiana. The title to this land was conveyed to Bishop Bruté in 1835. The home and school were abandoned, but on this site seven years later the University of Notre Dame was founded. Thomas T. McAvoy, *The Catholic Church in Indiana, 1789-1834* (New York, 1940), pp. 182 ff.; James E. Deery, "The First Catholic Orphans Home of Indiana," *The Catholic Historical Society of Indiana, Bulletin No. 2*, pp. 1-4 (December, 1937).

¹⁵Father Louis Deseille came to America from Holland in 1832. He joined the secular clergy soon after his arrival in America, spent some time in Cincinnati, then joined Father Badin. William McNamara, *The Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier 1789-1844* (Washington, D. C., 1931), pp. 42, 63; McAvoy, "Father Badin Comes to Notre Dame," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIX (1933), 12.

¹⁶Father Deseille to Bishop Bruté, June 10, 1835, quoted in a letter from Bruté to the compiler of *Annales*, November 26, 1835, *Annales*, VIII (1835-36), No. XLIV, 325-26.

¹⁷Baptismal Register, University of Notre Dame Archives.

¹⁸Simon William Gabriel Bruté de Rémur, first Bishop of Vincennes. See Sister Maria Silesia Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur, First Bishop of Vincennes* (St. Meinrad, Indiana, 1931).

¹⁹Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 240; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 247-48. For Bruté's account of the trip see James Roosevelt Bayley, *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Simon Wm. Gabriel Bruté, D. D.* . . . (New York, 1873), pp. 85-90; *Annales*, VIII (1835-36), No. XLIV, 322-24.

with the swiftness of the wind, everybody—men, women, and children—donned his best spring attire, mounted on horseback, and, through quagmire and marshes, came to see the chief of the Black-robcs, of whom their fathers had spoken so much, whose departure several had regretted until their last breath and died bidding their children to listen to them, if the great Lord of Life sent them again.”²⁰

Bishop Bruté confirmed sixteen persons at Chechaukkose’s Village and in turn was offered a half section (320 acres) of land upon which to build a church and a school. He accepted the gift from the chief, but realized that it might not be possible to secure from the government the approval necessary for a legal transfer.²¹

After his superior’s departure Deseille remained ten days at the Tippecanoe, instructing, baptizing, and admitting to first communion. In order to relieve the congestion he sent away the Yellow River Potawatomi, promising to visit them next. When he did, he found that this band had erected a little chapel much like the one at the Tippecanoe, close to the cross he had set up the previous autumn. Menominee and his fellows, not to be outdone in any way by Chechaukkose, gave the Church not only a half section for a chapel but another half section to be used for a school. After baptizing thirty-seven persons in six days, Deseille returned to Pokagon’s Village near Niles.²²

In a letter to the compiler of the *Annales*, Bruté expressed himself as “much touched by the piety and self-communing” of the Indians whom he met on his journey, and as sympathetic with Deseille’s ambition “to train them to pastoral life.” Bruté saw more clearly than the missionaries, however, that the government was threatening the security of their stations and their activities might soon be brought to an end. He wrote on November 26, 1835: “One knows that the policy of the United States is to shut them [the Indians] out from all civilized

²⁰Father Deseille to Bishop Bruté, June 10, 1835, quoted in a letter from Bruté to the compiler of *Annales*, November 26, 1835, *Annales*, VIII, 324-25.

²¹Bayley, *Memoirs*, pp. 86, 87-88; Bruté to the compiler of *Annales*, in *Annales*, VIII, 324.

²²Father Deseille to Bishop Bruté, June 10, 1835, quoted in *ibid.*, VIII, 324-27.

states and to drive all the savages back to the other side of the Mississippi."²³

By treaties made in 1818, 1821, 1826, and 1828, the Potawatomi had ceded such a large part of their possessions in Indiana that their holdings could not be further reduced and support them in their nonagricultural way of life.²⁴ Meanwhile the westward white migration was increasing steadily.²⁵ New settlers pouring into the Indiana country clamored for more and more lands, and prodded the government to purchase the remaining Indian holdings. The inevitable result was the proposition to move the Indians beyond the Mississippi. On May 28, 1830, Congress passed a bill permitting an exchange of lands belonging to Indian tribes in states or territories east of the Mississippi for lands west of the Mississippi and making provisions to enable the Indians to remove to their new lands and "to give them such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal."²⁶

The next negotiations with the Potawatomi reflected this policy. By the three treaties concluded with them in 1832 they gave up their title to and interest in all lands in Indiana with the exception of certain well-defined reserves, and one of these treaties, concluded on October 26, provided that if at any time the Potawatomi wished to "change their residence," the amount of goods necessary for their migration would be provided by the government.²⁷

The efforts of the government agents²⁸ were now bent

²³*Ibid.*, VIII, 323.

²⁴Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 168-69, 198-201, 273-76, 294-97.

²⁵The white population in Indiana had increased from an estimated 6,550 in 1800 to 344,508 in 1830. Logan Esarey, *A History of Indiana from Its Exploration to 1850* (2 volumes. Fort Wayne, 1924), I, 175, 315.

²⁶U. S. *Statutes at Large*, IV, 411-12.

²⁷Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 353-56, 367-70, 372-74.

²⁸From 1789 to 1849 the Office of Indian Affairs was a part of the War Department under the direction of the Secretary of War. In 1832 the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs was created, and in 1834 the Office of Indian Affairs was set up under the Commissioner, within the War Department. To it fell the duties of overseeing trade and commerce and treating with the Indians. From 1831 to 1836 the removal of the Indians to the West was under the direction of the Commissary General of Subsistence. In the latter year this duty was transferred to the Indian Office.

toward enrolling as many of the Indians as could be persuaded to acquiesce in removal to new lands in the West. In 1833 Colonel Abel C. Pepper, subagent for Indiana, was appointed to superintend the removal of the Indiana Indians. In that year upwards of two hundred and fifty Potawatomi were gathered together at Logansport, but most of them fled from the camp before the removal started and only about seventy reached the Mississippi. During the next year several more parties made the journey, but the process was slow.

In 1834 William Marshall, Indian agent for Indiana, was instructed by Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, to make further efforts to secure the reserves still remaining in Indian possession in Indiana, and it was proposed that this could be done most successfully by treating with the separate bands rather than with the Potawatomi nation.²⁹ During December, 1834, Marshall concluded a number of treaties with Potawatomi bands by which he purchased 52,800 acres of land for the government out of their reserves. He secured most of this at the rate of fifty cents an acre, but in a few instances was obliged to pay sixty-two and a half cents.³⁰ When these treaties were sent to President Jackson, he submitted only four of them to the Senate for ratification and withheld the others. Three of the four which were approved were made with Comoza and his band, Muck Rose and his band, and Mota and his band. They provided for the complete relinquishment of the reserves granted to these bands in 1832 and carried the promise of the Indians to yield peaceable possession within three years. In the last-named treaty Mota and his band agreed to remove to a country provided for them west of the Mississippi River within the three-year period. By the fourth treaty which was approved, the Potawatomi tribe ceded two sections of land on the Tippecanoe River, including their mills, granted them in

²⁹Lewis Cass to William Marshall, July 12, 1834, Newton D. Mereness Calendar of papers in the National Archives, Indiana State Library (hereafter cited as Mereness Calendar), Indian Office, Letters Received, Miami. Cass was secretary of war from 1831 to 1836.

³⁰William Marshall to Lewis Cass, January 1, 1835, enclosing copies of eleven treaties negotiated by him with bands of Potawatomi, photostats in Matthews Collection, Indiana State Library, from Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

1832; the services of a miller furnished them by the government were to be discontinued.³¹

The treaties which Jackson withheld from the Senate provided for the purchase of parts of reserves, the remaining parts to be divided among individual members of the bands. The case of Menominee's reserve on the Yellow River serves as a good example. In 1832 twenty-two sections (14,080 acres) of land on the Yellow River, south of Plymouth, were granted to Menominee, Peepenawah, Notawkah, and Makkah-tahmoway and their bands. William Marshall contracted to purchase eleven sections of the reserve for the government, the remaining eleven sections to become the property of individual Indians including Menominee, Makkahtahmoway, and Notawkah.³² To this arrangement Jackson objected, on the grounds that it would deprive most of the members of the bands of their just claim to an interest in the reserves.³³ The arrangement was unacceptable to Secretary Cass, also, for he was adverse to any partial removal of the Indians, believing firmly that "they ought all speedily to go."³⁴

Marshall resigned as agent in February, 1835, and Jackson sent to Pepper the unratified treaties with the request that he inform the Potawatomi that, when they signified a willingness to sell their lands and remove west, the President would authorize negotiations for that object.³⁵

Spurred on by pressure from the Indian Office and from the growing white population, Colonel Pepper determined to remove all obstacles that might in any way hinder him from accomplishing his task. When Father Deseille visited the Yellow River Potawatomi in 1835, it was recognized that his presence might prejudice their removal. A priest who wished

³¹Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 428-31.

³²Marshall to Cass, January 1, 1835, Matthews Collection.

³³John Tipton to Governor David Wallace, September 18, 1838, in *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, p. 728.

³⁴George Gibson to Abel C. Pepper, February 27, 1835, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Miscellaneous.

³⁵John Tipton to Lewis Cass, March 7, 1835, photostat in Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library, from Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi and Miami; Abel C. Pepper to Lewis Cass, May 16, 1835, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

"to train them to pastoral life" promised to become a formidable barrier in the way of the chosen policy. In January, 1835, and again in July, Pepper wrote to George Gibson, Commissary General of Subsistence, that Catholic priests were alleged to be interfering with the operations of the removal of the Potawatomi. During the next months it was reported to him that Father Deseille held meetings with the Indians, advised them not to sell their lands but to build a church, settle together in one village, and reject the proposition of the government to remove west.³⁶ Pepper thereupon requested that whenever Deseille assembled any of the Indians within the Indian agency, he inform Pepper of it, and added that it might be necessary to furnish an authorized interpreter for these occasions to insure that there would be no talk or speeches which might incite the Indians toward a violation of the existing laws and treaties. He referred the priest to an act approved June 30, 1834, to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indians, which placed heavy penalty on anyone attempting to "produce contravention or infraction of any treaty of the United States."³⁷

Whatever Deseille's opinion of a governmental attitude that threatened the existence of his mission, his replies to Pepper were friendly and co-operative. He promised to comply with the agent's request and added: "I have not the least objection to this—my business with the Indians being only about their spiritual concerns." He even inquired whether Pepper would prefer to have the Indians discontinue their attendance at the Sunday and festival meetings in the village.³⁸

This brought from Pepper the assurance that he had no objections to any course of religious instruction among the

³⁶ Abel C. Pepper to the Commissary General of Subsistence, January 17, 1835, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; Abel C. Pepper to Lewis Cass, October 16, 1835, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

³⁷ Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, August 7, 1835, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; U. S. *Statutes at Large*, IV, 731.

³⁸ Father Deseille to Abel C. Pepper, October 10, 1835, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; Deseille to Pepper, November 10, 1835, "Documents: Correspondence on Indian Removal, Indiana, 1835-1838," *Mid-America*, XV (1932-1933), 178.

Indians that did not "infringe the laws of the United States nor interfere with the humane policy of the government." He added that it would give him pleasure to have Deseille call on him for an exchange of views.³⁹

Commissary General Gibson, upon whose department lay the responsibility of conducting an emigration, asked Deseille for an explanation of the actions attributed to him, declaring that he was reluctant to believe that the priest would adopt a course "calculated to impede the progress of measures adopted, in the judgement of the Government to promote the welfare of the indians." Father Deseille declared himself innocent of all charges made against him. His visits to the Indiana Potawatomi had been made only with consent of their agent, William Marshall, and their great distance from Pokagon's Village in Michigan where he lived made it impossible for him to visit them more than two or three times a year. He attributed to Marshall the efforts to concentrate the tribe into villages. As to the building of a church by the Indians on Yellow River, he explained: "I could not but approve it but I deemed it useless being convinced that it was not possible for them to stay much longer in that country without being protected by the laws against encroachment of the Whites and for this reason I would not take one step to begin and after several repeated solicitations I told them that I did not see any possibility for them to remain in this country unless they should get from their great father the President the favor of being subject to the laws as white people and this I did not tell them before I had ascertained myself that the intention of the Government was not to remove all the Indians to the West but rather to extinguish their nationality—so I was told by persons in office whom I supposed to be well acquainted with the proceedings of the Government."

Gibson's far too reassuring reply reveals either a lack of unity or a duplicity in the policy of the War Department. He informed Deseille that there would be no further inquiry into his actions, and stated further that Potawatomi chiefs who had visited Washington in November, 1835, had been told that

³⁹Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, October 20, 1835, *ibid.*, XV, 177.

they would not be disturbed by the government so long as they wished to remain in Indiana.⁴⁰

Upon this, Deseille set about to expand and improve his mission, confident that there would be nothing to interrupt its progress. He requested an appropriation out of the fund voted by Congress for civilizing the Indians to be expended on a school at the Yellow River reserve. He wrote frankly to Pepper, "I am quite confident, sir, you will not make any difficulty to permit me as heretofore to continue the moral and religious instruction of the Indians of your agency; viz. those of the village of Menomina, Chechacose and Ashkum who all have received the same favor [that they could remain as long as they wished] by a rescript of the Secretary of War in January, 1836." In April, 1836, Menominee and Makkahtahmoway also asked for an appropriation for the education of the youths of their tribe, and shortly afterward the sum of \$300 was allowed.⁴¹

This trend of affairs was exasperating and embarrassing to Pepper. He requested Deseille to take no steps toward establishing himself permanently among the Potawatomi⁴² and wrote to John Tipton:⁴³ "If the Sec. of War. or Commissary Gen did give such assurances, why was I not advised of it? I have felt it to be my duty constantly to repeat to the Indians

⁴⁰George Gibson to Father Deseille, November 3, 1835, and January 22, 1836, Indian Office, Commissary General of Subsistence, Letter Book, volume C, 329, 420; Deseille to Gibson, December 28, 1835, "Documents," *Mid-America*, XV, 179-80.

⁴¹Father Deseille to Abel C. Pepper, March 21, 1836, "Documents," *Mid-America*, XV, 182; Menominee and Makkahtahmoway to Elbert Herring, April 14, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana; Lewis Cass to John Tipton, April 19, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letter Book, volume 18, pp. 315-16.

⁴²Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, April 18, 1836, "Documents," *Mid-America*, XV, 183.

⁴³Abel C. Pepper to John Tipton, April 16, 1836, Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library. Tipton was a member of the United States Senate from Indiana from 1832 to 1839. From 1823 to 1831 he had served as agent to the Miami and Potawatomi, first at Fort Wayne then at Logansport, and his success in winning the confidence of the Indians was notable. As a member of the Senate he served on committees dealing with military affairs, Indian affairs, and public lands. Tipton Papers, Indiana State Library.

that the President would no *longer listen* to any arguments in favor of their remaining in this Country. And are my speec[h]es thus made to be contradicted, and my authority and influence to be destroyed, by the action of the Government, without my knowledge? I failed in a late effort to conclude a treaty with the Yellow river band, wholly on account as the Chief alleged, of a paper which he said the Priest had authorizing the band to remain permanently on their reservation—build Churches, School houses &c. . . . I shall be glad to be advised what has been said to Me-nom-mi-na or the Priest on this subject.”

But Pepper's success was close at hand: one by one he was committing the remaining bands of Potawatomi to emigration. On March 26, 1836, he negotiated a treaty with the Potawatomi of Turkey Creek Prairie (near the head of the Yellow River); on March 29 and April 11 at the Tippecanoe (where Chechaukkose's band lived); on April 22 at Logansport; on August 5 at the Yellow River (ostensibly with Menominee's band); and on September 20, 22, and 23 at Chippewaynaung on the Wabash. By these treaties the Potawatomi agreed to sell to the government all their claims to land in Indiana and promised to remove to lands provided for them beyond the Mississippi within two years. The treaties were all ratified by the Senate.⁴⁴ How he managed to wear the Indian resistance down can only be imagined, but following the treaty of the Yellow River, concluded on August 5, by which the twenty-two sections comprising Menominee's Reserve were sold, there was a great storm of protest.

It will be remembered that this reservation was granted in 1832 to Menominee, Peepenawah, Makkahtahmoway, and Notawkah and their bands. Menominee's name, which headed the list in 1832, does not appear among the signers of the treaty of 1836, and strenuous efforts were made to prove that the treaty was a fraud. Government officers attributed to Deseille the leadership in the opposition. Arguments against the validity of the treaty were that those who signed it were not the proper chiefs and that there was much drinking at the treaty grounds. In turn the priest was alleged to have ob-

⁴⁴Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 450, 457-59, 462-63, 470, 471-72.

tained from Menominee and perhaps others a title to the reserve and to have incited the Indians to fight the treaty.⁴⁵

On November 4 the Potawatomi of the Yellow River sent to John Tipton a protest against the sale which Tipton forwarded to Carey A. Harris, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Harris acknowledged the receipt of this and of a similar plea from Chechaukose and others, but let the matter drop.⁴⁶ Protests dated November 15, 1836, and April 6, 1837, were sent to President Van Buren and Secretary of War Cass. On May 15 and June 12, the Yellow River Potawatomi again appealed to the President, declaring that they had not made a treaty with Colonel Pepper the preceding August.⁴⁷

It is likely that Deseille was instrumental in sending these papers to Washington, sincerely feeling that the Indians were being defrauded. Lewis H. Sands, an assistant superintendent of the emigration, made a tour of the Potawatomi villages in Indiana in the spring of 1837, and in May reported that he had found all the bands convinced that they had given up their lands and ready to move except at the Yellow River village. He called upon Deseille. "He appeared willing to give me an answer to my queries," Sands wrote to Pepper, "and I am perfectly convinced that he has made this band of Indians believe that they have not sold their reservation. . . . Unless his influence is curtailed and he stopped from making misrepresentations relative to the treaty and object of the government, we may not expect to emigrate but a portion of this band."⁴⁸

Citing the act of June 30, 1834, as his authority, Pepper delivered to the priest, through Sands, a kind of ultimatum,

⁴⁵George W. Ewing and Cyrus Taber to John Tipton, August 21, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

⁴⁶Protest to John Tipton by Potawatomi of Yellow River, November 4, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi; John Tipton to Carey A. Harris, December 18, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana; Harris to Tipton, December 29, 1836, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letter Book, volume 20, p. 351.

⁴⁷Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi and Indiana. See also *post*, pp. 38, 41.

⁴⁸Lewis H. Sands to Abel C. Pepper, May 11, 1837, "Documents," *Mid-America*, XV, 183-84.

ordering him, as an alien, to leave the public lands, or, as an alternative, to stay and attempt to prove himself a citizen. In the latter event he announced that the priest would be prosecuted for disturbing the peace among the Indians and attempting to alienate them from the government. Upon this the missionary left the reserve.⁴⁹

Shortly after Deseille's departure Miss Campeau received the following curt note from Sands: "You are hereby required to leave the Indian reservation purchased by Government *forthwith*. M Deselle cannot be allowed to evade the penalties of the law by leaveing yourself in possession of his house. Mr. Nash is authorised to demand and take possession of the House in which M. Deselle resided for the use of Government And you expected to depart immediately."⁵⁰

Pepper, feeling perhaps that these steps may have been too drastic, sought approval of his actions from Commissioner Harris, in a letter of May 31. Harris replied that the department concurred fully in the course that had been taken.⁵¹

Deseille remained in the neighborhood. The following September he spent two weeks at Pokagon's Village in Michigan, then made his way on foot to his home at St. Mary's Lake. He fell ill after his arrival there, and died on September 26.⁵²

In the late summer and early fall of 1837, between four and five hundred Ottawa, Chippewa, and Potawatomi from

⁴⁹Abel C. Pepper to Father Deseille, May 16, 1837, and Lewis H. Sands to Abel C. Pepper, May 20, 1837, *ibid.*, XV, 185-87.

⁵⁰Lewis H. Sands to Mamzelle Liggate (Angelique Campeau), May 28, 1837, photostat in University of Notre Dame Archives from original in Chancery Office, at Indianapolis. The priest had acknowledged to Sands that he had a contract signed by the Indians of the Yellow River reserve granting his Bishop one section of the reserve including the church and the house in which the priest resided. See *ante*, p. 16; Sands to Abel C. Pepper, May 20, 1837, "Documents," *Mid-America*, XV, 186-87.

⁵¹Abel C. Pepper to Carey A. Harris, May 31, 1837, *ibid.*, XV, 188; Harris to Pepper, June 16, 1837, Indian Office, Letter Book, volume 21, p. 500.

⁵²A description of Father Deseille's death is given in, "Missionaries of Indiana,—First Rev. C. De Seille," *Ave Maria*, I, No. 30, pp. 474-75 (December 9, 1865); *Annales*, X (1837-38), No. LX, 556; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 327, 347.

the Chicago Agency were removed to Council Bluffs sub-agency, and smaller parties of Potawatomi emigrated from Indiana. The government agents meanwhile continued to exert a constant pressure on the remaining bands.

In the midst of this anxious season Angelique Campeau, now living at Plymouth, asked Bishop Bruté to send a new father to take Deseille's place.⁵³ The nearest priests were at Chicago, Logansport, and Fort Wayne, far too remote to visit the Catholic Potawatomi or the increasing white population around South Bend. In answer to this plea Bishop Bruté dispatched his well-loved, newly ordained young priest, Father Benjamin Marie Petit, to carry on as well as he could the task of missionary and father.

Petit was born at Rennes, France, Bruté's native city, on April 8, 1811. He was graduated from the University at Rennes in 1829 and made a brilliant record at the law school from which he graduated in 1832. After three years as a successful advocate he renounced his profession and entered the Seminary of St. Sulpice⁵⁴ to become a priest. Perhaps Bishop Bruté's presence in the city accounted for Petit's decision, for Bruté had journeyed to France to secure funds and priests for his newly formed diocese, and it is likely that he encouraged the young man in abandonment of the law for the church.⁵⁵

In April, 1836, Petit wrote to his widowed mother, Mme. Chauvin Petit, that he was soon to leave for America with Bishop Bruté. On April 14 Paul Petit, Benjamin's younger brother, addressed a protest against this decision to Bruté which was soon followed by one from his mother. Their op-

⁵³Angelique Campeau to Bishop Bruté, September 30, 1837, photostat in University of Notre Dame Archives of original in Chancery Office, at Indianapolis. This contains a note from some of the Catholic Indians strengthening Mlle. Campeau's plea, which is signed by "Jeneie or Sinigo. Markartamwa. Menomine. Peppenarwha. Weishekmar."

⁵⁴The Seminary of St. Sulpice was a Catholic school founded at Paris by Jean-Jacques Olier in 1642. It became an important place for training clerics. Branches were established in Canada in 1657 and in the United States in 1791. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIII (1912), 378-80.

⁵⁵Data in the Archives d'Ille-et-Vilaine, Rennes; *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 382-83.

position to Benjamin's departure to the mission field was based largely upon his delicate health, especially a weakness in the chest which demanded constant attention. Bruté called upon Mme. Petit, apparently to try to assuage her fears, for Benjamin showed no signs of changing his plans. Another lengthy expostulation from Paul and two more from Mme. Petit were of no avail. Benjamin's letters show from the beginning that he longed for missionary fields and placed himself entirely in the hands of his Bishop.⁵⁶

Petit sailed with Bruté and the group he had gathered together on June 1, 1836. The boat docked in New York on July 21, and the party divided. Two priests were sent directly to the northern part of the Vincennes diocese—one to Chicago and one to Fort Wayne. Bruté took five of the group to Maryland to study English at Mount St. Mary's at Emmitsburg. Of the remaining eleven, three, including Petit, were sent through Pittsburgh to bring the heavy baggage down the Ohio, and eight accompanied the Bishop to Louisville by way of Cincinnati, then to Vincennes. Petit and his comrades arrived several weeks after the Bishop.⁵⁷

The young man remained for the time at Vincennes. On December 16, 1836, he received his minor orders, and two days later he was made a subdeacon.⁵⁸ In June, 1837, he accompanied Bruté on a visit to Father François⁵⁹ at Logansport. Hearing of Deseille's expulsion from the public lands the previous month, they proceeded to South Bend, where they spent several days. They also visited the German colony ministered

⁵⁶Photostats of the letters from Mme. Petit and Paul Petit to Bishop Bruté, dated April 14, 16, 21, 23, and 25, 1836, are in the University of Notre Dame Archives. The original letters are in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

⁵⁷Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 274-77, 279-80.

⁵⁸Herman J. Alerding, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1883), p. 226; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 293.

⁵⁹Father Claude François came to America as a missionary in 1835. He was stationed first at Fort Wayne, then in 1836 was transferred to Logansport to replace the Reverend Patrick O'Bierne (O'Byrne). *Ibid.*, pp. 240, 284; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 238; McNamara, *Catholic Church on the Northern Indiana Frontier*, p. 78.

to by the Reverend Louis Mueller⁶⁰ near Fort Wayne and the neighboring Miami reservation, returning to Vincennes after traveling six hundred miles.⁶¹

On September 23 Petit was elevated to the deaconship, the last step before priesthood. When he had entered the missionary field, he had asked as a particular favor "to be sent to the Indians so soon as he would have been prepared for the priesthood."⁶² The need for someone to replace Father Desseille probably brought the call sooner than Bishop Bruté wanted it for his young charge, but it was accepted hopefully and eagerly.

The following letters written by Petit, beginning April 17, 1836, shortly before his departure for America, and continuing to a few days before his death, tell the story of his trials and joys as a missionary, and give a vivid description of the expulsion of the Potawatomi from Indiana.

⁶⁰Father Mueller was among the party which accompanied Bruté to America in 1836. Upon his arrival he went directly to Fort Wayne. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 277, 289; *Valley of the Upper Maumee River* (2 volumes. Brant & Fuller, Madison, Wis., 1889), II, 412, 413, 429, 432.

⁶¹Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 310-11, 318.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 328; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 167, 226.

LETTERS OF BENJAMIN MARIE PETIT

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, April 17, 1836

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA¹]

ST. SULPICE, 17 April, 1836.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I was preparing, following what had been agreed upon, to leave tomorrow and join you at Rennes, when a letter came from my mother asking me in the name of obedience not to depart from the seminary before she had had the honor of seeing you and had given me permission to depart. One of my brothers,² Mother tells me, was to have the honor of writing to you in my behalf.

M. Fayon³ tells me that, as my journey to Rennes was only to give pleasure to my mother, it must be postponed, since she appears to want it to be, unless you, Monseigneur, wish otherwise to dispose of me, who am and will always be with the grace of God ready to obey all that you have the goodness to tell me in the smallest as well as in the greatest things, because I desire only the will of God, and I regard you as the interpreter of that holy will to me.

I shall await your reply before departing, Monseigneur, or rather, as your moments are so precious, please have M. de la Hailandière⁴ write to me what you wish me to do: I shall do it instantly.

M. du Merle⁵ leaves tomorrow to visit his family.

¹The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

²Paul Petit. *Ante*, pp. 26-27.

³Evidently the rector of the seminary.

⁴Celestin René Lawrence Guynemer de la Hailandière, second Bishop of Vincennes, was born in Brittany, May 2, 1798. He was ordained a deacon in 1824, entered St. Sulpice in Paris, and became a priest May 28, 1825. With Petit, he accompanied Bruté to America in 1836. He served as vicar-general of the diocese, and, in 1839, upon the death of Bruté, he was consecrated Bishop. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 162 ff.

⁵Charles du Merle also accompanied Bruté to America in 1836, and was ordained a subdeacon by him on the same day as Petit. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 273, 293; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 226.

We always pray here, Monseigneur, for you and for the mission, confident that you do not forget us either before the good Lord.

Please accept the expression of veneration, devotion and gratitude with which I am, Monseigneur,

Your very humble servant and happy son in Jesus Christ,

B. PETIT,

TONSURED CLERK.

Messieurs de St. Palais,⁶ Buteux,⁷ du Merle charge me, Monseigneur, to convey to you their respectful homage.

[Addressed:] Monseigneur Bruté Bishop of Vincennes, at the diocese of Nantes, Nantes.

PETIT TO MME. CHAUVIN PETIT, October 15, 1837

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 383-85]

I am now a priest, and the hand which is writing to you bore Jesus Christ this morning!⁸ How can I express to you all I should like to say, and yet how can I not wish to say something of what no tongue can express? My hand is consecrated to God; my voice now has a power to which God Himself is docile. How my lips trembled this morning at my first Mass when, at the *Memento*,⁹ I commended you all to God! And so shall I again tomorrow, and the day after, and every day of my life until the last! . . .

⁶James M. Maurice de Long d'Aussac de St. Palais, fourth Bishop of Vincennes. He was ordained a priest at the age of twenty-five and accompanied Bruté to Vincennes in 1836. He served successively at a station six miles north of the site of Loogootee, at Logansport, and at Madison. In 1847 he became vicar-general and superior of the ecclesiastical seminary at Vincennes, under Bishop John Steven Bazin. He was consecrated Bishop of Vincennes on January 14, 1849, and died June 28, 1877. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 190 ff.

⁷Father Stanislaus Buteau was one of the party which accompanied Bishop Bruté to America in 1836. In 1837 he founded St. Mary's parish at Terre Haute and became its first resident priest. He remained there until 1842. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 273; H. C. Bradsby, *History of Vigo County, Indiana* . . . (Chicago, 1891), p. 595; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 445.

⁸That is, Petit said Mass. He had been ordained a priest the day before, October 14, at Vincennes by Bishop Bruté.

⁹*Memento vivorum*, prayers for the living, a regular part of the Mass.

When I think that in two days I shall start from here all alone, going nearly three hundred miles to bestow sacraments—graces ratified in heaven—among people whom I do not know at all, but to whom God sends me—¹⁰ I tremble at the thought of my nothingness. When I see myself going forward, as we often do here, in the company of God, who reposes on my breast¹¹ night and day, carrying on my horse the instruments of the great Sacrifice,¹² stopping from time to time in the depths of the forest, and making the hut of an obscure Catholic the palace of the King of Glory—how deeply do I feel myself penetrated by St. Paul's thought, that God loves to accomplish great things by using that which is nothing: *Ea quae non sunt!*¹³

Ah, then I abandon myself willingly, and, I must say, at that time which is so important in my life, I have not yet felt anything painful! All has been the sweet rapture of God's will, who Himself ordains and executes through His grace. Ah, with what delight I put my trust in Him! Pray much for me; now is the time. . . .

I had been a deacon since September 24, when a black-sealed letter came one evening, announcing that M. Deseille, a missionary among the Indians for seven years, was dead. He had sent word beforehand to his two nearest neighbors, at Chicago and Logansport, but one was very sick, and the other, who had been in bed for several weeks, was too enfeebled to travel seventy-five miles. M. Deseille had to die alone—ah, Mary must have helped him! This is without doubt one of the severest tests of missionaries; but, since they expose themselves to the danger only for their love of God, He, being so good, does not abandon them without succor to death; and, if He deprives them of a priest's presence, assuredly it is to embellish their crown of virtues with a final sacrifice. Indeed I

¹⁰The distance from Vincennes to South Bend by way of Terre Haute, Covington, Lafayette, Logansport, and South Bend—the route followed by Petit—is about 265 miles. See Petit's Journal, *post*, pp. 119-20.

¹¹The Eucharist.

¹²The Mass kit.

¹³"As base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought things that are." I Corinthians, 1:28.

think He accords this favor only to those who are His sainted friends.

From the first moment Monseigneur resolved to send me to the deceased's residence to settle his affairs. But I was about to make the journey as a deacon, when a letter from M. François arrived from Logansport, expressing his sorrow at finding himself reduced by illness to refusing his ministrations to those who were dying in his congregation. I was very moved while reading this letter. Monseigneur was preparing for the ordination of an Irish priest¹⁴ the following week. He had said many times in speaking to me of my journey: "You must become a priest." But he knew that I wanted time, and he himself wished it for me. Yet I felt myself forced to tell him that in the present state of affairs I should not have any objection to my ordination, if he judged it expedient. My words fell in with his intentions: from then on my ordination was decided upon. A priest yesterday, I said my first Mass today, and in two days I shall go to South Bend to console a tribe of Indians who have addressed a touching petition to Monseigneur for a new priest. At the same time I shall be with poor M. François, the missionary at Logansport. I am not at all frightened, for I have faith in the One whose minister I am; but pray for me—I shall be seventy-five miles from the nearest priest, left to myself, but supported by the strong arm of my God.¹⁵

I shall conclude this glorious day by telling you that the dominant feeling in me is a profound joy under the burden of newly contracted obligations. I know not whether I should have some inquietude, but I feel so light at heart, so happy, so content, that I am wholly overwhelmed by it. To go from Mass to Mass to heaven! . . .

You know how I often said I was born lucky—well! I can still say it, and God has treated me on my first mission like a

¹⁴John Plunkett. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 226; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 328.

¹⁵The stations which Petit was to attend included St. Mary's of the Lake, South Bend, Pokagon's Village, Bertrand, Michigan City, and the various Indian villages in southern Michigan and northern Indiana. McAvoy, "Father Badin Comes to Notre Dame," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXIX,

spoiled child!¹⁶ I had always longed for a mission among the savages; we have only one in Indiana; and it is I whom the Potawatomi will call their "Father Black-Robe."

PETIT TO HIS FAMILY, November 24 (?),¹⁷ 1837

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 385-87]

I have stayed twenty-one days among them.¹⁸ This is the life we led during that time: At sunrise the first bell rang, and you would have seen the savages come along the forest paths and the shores of the lakes. There are four adjoining each other, and the church is built on a hillock on the shore of the largest.¹⁹ When they arrived, the second bell rang. While waiting for the laggards to assemble, the catechist gave in an animated manner the substance of the previous day's sermon. Then they recited a chapter of the catechism and the morning prayer. I said Mass between hymns, after which I preached, my sermon being translated by a respectable French demoiselle²⁰ of seventy-two years who has consecrated herself in the capacity of an interpreter to the work of the missions. Then they concluded with a *Pater* and an *Ave*, sang:

In thy protection do we trust,

O Virgin, meek and mild,

and left the chapel.

Then it was time for me to hear confessions until evening, sometimes even after supper. At sunset they came together again for catechism, followed by an exhortation, evening

¹⁶This is the term Bishop Bruté affectionately applied to the young priest. "Missionaries of Indiana,—First Rev. C. De Seille," *Ave Maria*, I, No. 30, p. 474.

¹⁷No date for this letter is given in the *Annales*, but it was probably written on the twenty-fourth. Petit says that he has spent twenty-one days at the Yellow River, and, in his letter to the Bishop, *post*, p. 35, that he arrived there on the third of November.

¹⁸The Potawatomi Indians on the Yellow River reserve.

¹⁹About halfway between Plymouth and Hibbard, near the Yellow River, is a cluster of seven small bodies of water, four of which—Cook, Nichols, Myers, and Lawrence—are called "lakes." These evidently are the four to which Petit refers. They have probably varied in size from time to time, and it is difficult to decide which is the largest, but according to local tradition the site of the church is on the north side of Cook Lake.

²⁰Angelique Campeau.

prayer, the hymn to the Virgin, and I gave them my blessing—poor Benjamin's blessing!

But God has done great things through me: *Fecit mihi magna qui potens est!* Many had the holy habit of taking communion frequently, and, deprived as they had been since the death of M. Deseille, they had practiced spiritual communion with all the ardor of a pious longing. I have baptized eighteen adults and blessed nine marriages. The proselytism of these good people is wonderful: they leave their homes and go far away to be with those who desire to be made Christians, to teach them what they must know. Each of the newly baptized who was not an inhabitant of the village took away with him a young man who knew how to read and who went with him solely to teach the prayers and the catechism.

Shall I tell you now how much they have become attached to me in such a little time? "We were orphans," they said to me, "and as if in darkness, but you appeared among us like a great light, and we live. You have taken the place of our father who died, and we shall do nothing without your advice."

"I do not hold the hearts of others in my hand," said an old man, his eyes filled with tears, while pressing my hand, "but mine will never forget what you have spoken. While you were among us, if we had any sorrow, we came to you, and you consoled us. To whom shall we go when you have departed?"

When, passing by a wigwam, I raised the mat which serves as a door and thrust in my head to say to them, "Good day, my children!" if you had seen their frank smiles in replying to me, "Good day, Father!"—if you had heard them ask me permission with the simplicity of children to go on their fall hunt and, when they had received my blessing and the little paper on which I indicated the fast days for them, take leave of me in such filial and childlike manner—if you had seen their heavy spirits when they knelt in a silent circle about me at the moment I was to leave—you would understand why, in bidding this first farewell, I felt again in my heart something of that feeling which I knew for the first time when I left Rennes: that day I left my family again.

10 th 8 th 1832. Voyage de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson				
Date	Lieu	Revenu	Expenses	Balance
16 th	St. John's	110 \$	75	35
20 th 8 th	St. John's		0, 37	
			0, 25	
21 st	St. John's		0, 2	
	St. John's		6, 00	
	St. John's		0, 37	
	St. John's		0, 37	
22 nd	St. John's		0, 62	
	St. John's		0, 37	
	St. John's		0, 25	
	St. John's		0, 62	
	St. John's		2, 50	
23 rd	St. John's	8, 00	0, 62	
			1, 50	
Total		118, 00	14, 46	

First Page of Father Petit's Journal

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, November 27, 1837

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA²¹]

SOUTH BEND, 27 November, 1837.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Here I am back from my journey and my mission among the Indians, and today I must give you a general report.

I arrived on the 3d at the reserve of Chichipé Outipé²² and left again on the 25th; from the 4th to the 20th confessions did not leave me a moment to myself. Since the 20th I have been freer.

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I performed 28 baptisms, 18 of which were of adults; 9 marriages; 138 communions, some of which were first communions. I brought divine grace to a sick woman in a ceremony including all my Indians. I administered extreme unction and officiated at an interment.

If it were now necessary to retrace everything my heart has felt, paper would not suffice. I shall only tell you, Monseigneur, that my soul, overwhelmed by the sweetnesses of the Lord's favor, does not know how to thank Him and you, His interpreter, for having granted me this wonderful beginning in the holy ministry. Not that sometimes there do not arise certain clouds, certain anxieties, but they are calmed by prayer and trust in God.

These good Indians have given me their confidence so entirely, they surround me with so much filial attachment, that it is only by weeping and rending my heart that I tear myself away from their touching farewells, carrying off in my heart something of the sentiment which I knew for the first time two years ago when I left my mother and brothers.

An Indian sends me two messages to ask me whether I should like to admit him to confession. I naturally reply, "Yes." He comes, gloomy as the night, sad, racked with deep pain. This is the situation: This man, a good Christian, had

²¹The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

²²"He [Petit] calls his mission 'Chichi-pe Outipe,' which I have not yet been able to identify, but the first word is apparently She-she-pa which is the Potawatomi word for 'duck.'" Dunn, *True Indian Stories*, pp. 241, 258. This is apparently a term that the Indians applied to Petit, also. See *post*, p. 62.

before his baptism a wife whose temperament did not agree with his. He sends her away and takes another. M. Deseille wants him to return to his first wife, but he doesn't want to. The priest forbids him to enter the chapel and deprives him of prayer. He remains good for a year, praying and presenting himself for confession, but M. Deseille refuses to receive him, even for confession, if he is unwilling to take his first wife again. But his heart has partaken of piety, and this is not life for him. He comes to confession, and I question him, warned by Mlle. Campeau. At the very first words I learn that the first wife, whom he had left, was, when he married her, his brother's widow (a way out!), and I tell him to come back in the evening with his present wife. I made inquiries about the situation in the meantime. I reprimand them for having married thus without the benediction and against the will of the priest, and then I announce to them that on the following Sunday I shall marry them (it is Thursday). I forbid them to live conjugally until that day and order them to spend the time in fasting, prayer, and meditation of their sins. On Sunday they come back to confession. I announce and explain the marriage so that there may be neither astonishment nor scandal, and I have them take their places again among their brethren. As a result of this, life has returned to the heart and countenance of this man; it is one of the greatest joys I have ever experienced.

One Saturday evening a girl of eighteen or nineteen years comes to confession. We notice that she speaks with difficulty. She finishes her confession and goes away. Evening comes, very dark and rainy. Two little Indians arrive and consult me about this girl, who fell into convulsions on the way home. I take a woollen blanket, wrap myself in it like an Indian, and my guides and I [go forth], each with a torch in his hand which spreads a dubious light on the way through the woods when he waves it. There are creeks to cross on tree trunks by this light. We arrive. The poor girl has not been well for several days, and, upon returning home, fell into the fire unconscious, they thought. I give extreme unction by the light of the fire burning in the center of the Indian hut. I start to withdraw, but they appear to want me to stay, and I

stay. I sleep for a moment on a mat; then I remain awake in their midst. I have them sleep by turns. I speak to them with some Indian words learned from M. Deseille and many gestures learned from my mother, from France. The night passes, the moon looking down upon us from on high and revealed by the hole through which the smoke escapes.

Two days later the mother comes to confession and tells me that her daughter spoke only to say: "I have seen my Father. Pray to God for me. I cannot speak, but I see and hear. Tell him to ask God that I may die or that I may recover quickly." When I have a moment in the evening (this was in the last few days), I go there, saying my breviary. I say my Complin²³ with the dying woman, then the prayers of the dying, then a last absolution. A half hour afterward the report of a rifle informs us of her death. I hurry immediately to those at the chapel, where we pray for her.

A thousand things and details as moving must wait for another time. I should like to ask you for the privilege of benediction and indulgence of the cross and chaplets, the privilege of *in mortis articulo*, if you can grant them to me.

How am I to give dispensation to Mme. Brouillette for the impediments of affinity contracted by having responded at the baptism of her daughter?²⁴ May I do it by a single voluntary act from here, or is it necessary to make the journey and give her dispensation at her home? She knows nothing of it; it is 100 miles there and back.

What about a good man quite ready for baptism who does not want to be baptized because it will then be necessary to marry and his present Christian wife has too melancholy a temperament? He is waiting for her to change before he binds himself to her forever, and so at present refuses his baptism.

A woman's unfaithful, bigamous husband becomes converted. She has custody of the children. Is it necessary to

²³The liturgical prayer of the day, said after nightfall.

²⁴Marie Elizabeth Brouillette. See Petit's Journal and notes to his Journal, *post*, pp. 120, 133. Mme. Brouillette had incurred the "impediment" by acting as godmother to her own daughter.

require her to leave this husband, who supports her and her children? She was his first wife, a Christian woman sent away by an unfaithful husband, not married by the Church. Can she marry another, and vice versa? What if both are unfaithful? I think yes, but be good enough to reply to me with just a word on all this, and I shall be very grateful to you. I like so much to lean upon the decision of a superior in such questions.

The Indians, Monseigneur, are preparing to leave for Washington to protest against the unworthy manner with which they are treated. The treaty²⁵ is indeed a thing as illegal as possible and in no wise applicable to our people, who have sold nothing. Menominee, the great chief, another savage, an interpreter, and a lawyer are preparing to leave. It seems to me that if the government has not decided to be completely unjust, they will be listened to. It is not at all a question of breaking the treaty but merely of whether the executive power will declare the treaty good and valid as far as it concerns those who have actually sold, but at the same time exercising its power as interpreter to say that the document could not be applied without an error of fact which would vitiate it. To those who have not sold, it is a question of interpreting and applying the treaty, not of breaking it.

I just found out, however, that, at the payment at which the savages were to receive the money necessary for their journey, the Catholics got nothing, or next to nothing. So I fear their voices cannot be heard at Washington—or perhaps they will obtain a justice which would save the most edifying of your congregations for your diocese. One's heart bleeds at so much injustice. Well, what shall I say to you? Monseigneur, I have asked the good Lord whether I ought to tell you: I think so. If the Indians cannot find a way to go themselves, could I not go myself, with a power of attorney from them? I think I am capable of doing it, although it is a trial to a sort of natural timidity and repugnance which I feel for this kind of thing. Mother informs me of money from France; I could make the trip at my own expense.

²⁵Treaty of August 5, 1836. See *ante*, p. 23.

Would we abandon them without even a feeble attempt at protection? I have entrusted the affair to the Holy Virgin. I do not think there enters into this proposal I make to you any natural desire on my part to travel or tour. Ah, no; I feel rather a sort of natural defiance, and I think I should make this attempt. Your wisdom will weigh and decide: it will be the voice of God to me. The journey will take only a short time.

If I had more paper I should speak to you about my Protestants around the Indian mission. What would you say if I told you that a Protestant lady poured out torrents of tears while asking me to pray that her whole family might become Catholic? It is the edification of the Indians which causes this. Monseigneur, to conclude, pardon me again: I said Mass this morning for M. Schaeffer.²⁶ I lack paper and have only time enough to beg you to excuse irregularities of form in favor of deep respect and of complete and devout submission in Jesus Christ.

From your son,

B. PETIT

Ptre. Mre.²⁷

This morning I claimed letters addressed to M. Deseille, notably the one of which his sister spoke. I am going to write to Mlle. Deseille what I know of the details of this missionary's death. On second thought I shall not do it, for upon rereading the letter I see that I am not asked to do it.

I think I conformed with Monseigneur's wishes in giving six piasters²⁸ to Mlle. Campeau for her living. She asks me for an old coat, some old stockings, and some pocket handkerchiefs. I gave them to her. She is indeed, Monseigneur, one of your most edifying and useful missionaries, is this holy woman.

²⁶Father Bernard Schaeffer came to America with Bishop Bruté in 1836 and went immediately to service in Chicago. He died there on October 2, 1837. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 121; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 273, 277.

²⁷Missionary Priest.

²⁸"Piaster" is synonymous with "dollar."

I confirmed the gift of a pair of young steers promised by M. François²⁹ to a Frenchman³⁰ to whom M. Deseille had entrusted the animals and who at all times has rendered and is still ready to render the greatest services to the mission.

M. Mueller's³¹ horse is worn out, and, what is worse, they told me the other day that he is eighteen or nineteen years old. What is certain is that when I was coming back from my sojourn among the Indians, a trip of twenty-seven or thirty miles, I had to stop for the night on the way. He could not go further. I know the road is terrible—mud, half a foot of ice, snow—but what of it? Mme. Coquillard³² promises me another.

[Addressed:] To The Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox County) Indiana.

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, December 9, 1837

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA³³]

SOUTH BEND, 9 December, 1837.

MONSEIGNEUR:

Just this moment I received your honored letter of the 29th last. I had been waiting for it for several days in order to write to you, having to bring to your attention some of M. Deseille's final recommendations, made to a good Irishman who attended him during his last illness. He wanted 140 Masses said for the repose of his soul, and he informed you

²⁹Priest at Logansport. See *ante*, p. 27.

³⁰Perhaps M. Charron. See notes to Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 133. Charron was a farmer on the land on St. Mary's Lake owned by Bishop Bruté.

³¹Father Mueller was priest at Fort Wayne. See *ante*, p. 28. He came to South Bend following Father Deseille's death, and upon his departure took the Father's horse, leaving behind his own, which was sick. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 120.

³²Frances (Comparet) Coquillard. In 1824, in Detroit, she married Alexis Coquillard, an agent of the American Fur Company, and came with him to his station at the present site of South Bend, then a wilderness. "Intelligent, charming, and well educated," she "was to the poor untutored Indians of that day a veritable Good Samaritan." Charles C. Chapman, *History of St. Joseph County, Indiana* (Chicago, 1880), pp. 503-4; Mary C. Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard—His Time* (Northern Indiana Historical Society, South Bend, 1931), pp. 12-13, 14.

³³The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

that he himself had paid the cost of 40 Masses, and he wished the 140 said in a year's time.

If M. Mueller saw a draft for \$400 among M. Deseille's papers, I have found nothing of the kind, and I haven't heard the least word said about it. All I discovered was \$140 in cash, which belongs to the savages of Chichipé Outipé. I shall give it to Menominee for his journey to Washington; he asked me for it again, and it belongs to them. In addition there is a counterfeit note for \$5, and \$4 in cash; I think that is all remaining after the debts were paid by M. François.

As to the savages, Monseigneur, I have never said a word to them tending in the least to influence them to disobey in case they should not obtain justice and should be forced to depart.³⁴ This would be contrary to their interest and my duty. Nor have I ever had the least idea of asking your permission to accompany them in their emigration, and I am, thanks to God, wholly prepared to leave them when you say to me: "Depart" (not, however, without some inner pangs, but that does not matter).

But this is what I have done, and I don't think I did wrong—you shall judge: I promised Menominee a memorial, in which I should briefly explain their case so that, when he is before the President, he may be sure to make him understand the facts with certainty. He is to deliver it as if it were his own, and my name will not appear. It is a simple, general, and logical exposé of the facts, tending to prove that they did not sign, or that they signed without knowing what they were doing, or that some of the signatures appearing on the treaty are of people not properly settled on the reserve. The whole is based simply on the general facts, without direct or personal accusations against anyone. It is true that agents in general are somewhat blackened by it, but is it necessary to sacrifice the innocent to the guilty by keeping silent?

³⁴In a letter dated November 29, Bishop Bruté wrote to Petit: "These people will not be successful in having the law repealed. Whatever may have been its origin—however faulty or dishonest even—if the fault lay in the documents upon which the law was based then above all, we should, as Father Deseille said, refrain from meddling in what is not in the line of our duties." Quoted in Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 334.

The reason I promised this to him is that they have so often been deceived by lawyers and interpreters, and they have so often been made to say what they do not mean, that I am very glad to assure them a certain communication of their protests.

This is absolutely the only interpretation I make of it: It is not at all a question of repealing a law: a treaty is not a law, for it has in no wise received any legislative sanction at all, having been approved only by the Senate and ratified by the President. It is not a question of repealing it but of executing it in its true sense. The executive power is always joined to the interpretive power, and the President, who is bound to execute the treaty, necessarily has the power to say it applies to those to whom it does not. In the Senate's intention, however, the ratification applies to a completed sale. So from the moment the executive power declares unquestionably that the sale was not actually agreed upon, as is the case, it would follow that by his interpretive power he ought to say the treaty applies to those who have really sold, but it could apply only by an error of fact contrary to the intention of the ratification itself. Thus, you see, it is only a question of asking the competent executive power in the case at issue to declare the proper application of the treaty by a natural and well-founded interpretation.

Such is the spirit in which the memorial in question is addressed to the President. I think it may be useful to the Indians, but speak but a word to me, and I shall keep it to myself in all submission, telling Menominee that you do not think it can do them any good. As to this manner of bringing the question to the President's attention, I communicated my opinion to the lawyer. I do not think I was wrong in all this, but judge me, Monseigneur, and I shall submit very quickly, very quickly.

If, however, the Indians depart before I have learned your decision regarding this and ask me for the promised letter, I shall give it to them, for it is merely as if they were asking me to write a letter for them because they do not know how to write, and this is a service which can hardly with charity be refused them. All things considered, however, I should refuse

it to them until I got your permission. But in case of refusal I shall ask your authority to communicate what I have done to someone who can do as much for them in my place or adopt my memorial in his name.

I am ashamed of myself, Monseigneur, and I fear you find me still too much a lawyer. I should perhaps have cast that spirit far from me, and yet it was at a time when the weak oppressed had no sure defense against the oppressor other than the priest's voice. Could you give them a letter of recommendation to J. Ewing of Vincennes?—he is in the Senate.³⁵ Enclose it in your reply to this.

I had the happiness of baptizing Mme. Laurent Bertrand:³⁶ I heard her confession, baptized her under condition,³⁷ had her renew her confession generally, and gave her absolution. . . .

This week I went several miles to see a woman who had left the Catholics to join the Dunkers. She promised me she would return, and I expect her tomorrow at confession.³⁸ She has been in this commendable state of mind since before M. Deseille's death; she is the wife of a good Irishman who came and told me his sorrow and implored me to go speak with his wife. I hope God's grace will settle this yet.

In answer to your questions: *First*, I have completely worn out M. Mueller's horse; he is in such a state as to make the crows cry with envy. The idea of a journey with this poor old creature (who, I imagine, still means well) is hopeless. Perhaps he will recover; one still occasionally sees that he was a good horse.

Second: I went yesterday to lay out, at the further extremity of the land,³⁹ a site where a new farmer will build a

³⁵John Ewing was a member of the United States House of Representatives, not the Senate, 1833-35, 1837-39. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress 1774-1927* (1928), p. 954.

³⁶Wife of Laurent Bertrand, son of Joseph Bertrand, Sr. See *post*, p. 50n. On November 2, Bertrand had informed Petit that his wife was ready to become a Catholic; on November 28, she was converted. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 122.

³⁷A procedure resorted to when there is some doubt whether or not an individual has been validly baptized.

³⁸She came to confession. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 122.

³⁹Probably the land deeded by Father Badin to Bishop Bruté. See *ante*, p. 15 and note.

second farmhouse and cultivate the soil. He is to use it for three years to reimburse himself and then pay a third of the land's produce, and all the improvements will belong to you. The wood he will have to sell above what is necessary for the fences and buildings and his own use will be sold by halves. I allowed him to carry off and chop up the felled or broken wood which was rotting on the ground in consideration of fifteen cents a cord. M. de la Hailandière will say this is too cheap, but it is the price one gets for such wood here, and, if I do not sell it at this price, it will be a complete loss next year. Before long I shall arrange for a farm with Charron himself as well as I can to your advantage.

Third: the savages have repeated to me also that they were willing to give a section to the Church, but it is the section on which the church is located at the Yellow River, and the first question is whether the reserve still belongs to them; if not, the Church can take nothing from them.

Fourth: M. Deseille's residence at the Yellow River is very beautiful and good,⁴⁰ and I do not doubt you can have a right of pre-emption over this quarter section as the heir of M. Deseille, the first settler, but it would not be necessary to give up the place or buy it.

Fifth: I shall be able to inquire for an Indian, but I do not think I can find one of the kind which would be necessary—but perhaps—I shall see. I heard that some of them intended to ask you if they could settle at the lake, on a little corner of your land, if they are driven off the "duck's head." They could indeed cultivate your land if a priest is established at the lake; that might be advantageous both for you and for them; it should be looked into later.

Sixth: I shall see whether I can find some religious articles suitable to please a Clarisse.⁴¹

Seventh: I found two chalices, a large one and a small one, for a mission; the foot of the latter is broken. The books are in good condition, and some are precious—a magnificent Bil-

⁴⁰Petit had taken up residence, apparently with no opposition, in the house on the Yellow River reserve from which Sands had expelled Father Deseille and Angelique Campeau. See *ante*, pp. 24-25.

⁴¹A nun of the Order of St. Clare.

luart⁴²—church and personal linen, handkerchiefs, tools, all sorts of things.

M. Coquillard⁴³ himself is soon going to Fort Wayne; I shall entrust the note concerning M. Comparet⁴⁴ to him.

I recommend myself to the prayers of your candidates for ordination at Christmas; we shall pray for them at Chichipé Outipé as soon as I return there, but that will not be before the ordination. I shall go there the day after Christmas.

Yes, Monseigneur, I shall accept without shame whenever donations are given me, but they do not happen often. I am still very rich anyway, and I have the dollars you intended for M. Mueller in the bottom of my pocket. Is it a wrong use to keep them for a horse in case his should completely fail? *There* is a real carcass.

I shall write to M. Badin.⁴⁵

Monseigneur, if you find in me too much ardor for the savages, you will excuse me, will you not? For though I have known them only a short time, there is an inconceivable tenderness for them in the bottom of my heart which the good Lord will bless, I hope. Might it not turn out that this will give me the happiness of offering to Him the pain I shall feel in leaving them, if you wish it so?

⁴²One of the theological works of Charles René Billuart, 1685-1757. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, II (1907), 567.

⁴³Alexis Coquillard won a reputation as an Indian trader and was appointed agent for the American Fur Company, in partnership with Francis Comparet. He came to South Bend in 1824 and has been described as the "pioneer introducer of civilized customs among the Indians in northern Indiana." Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard*; Chapman, *History of St. Joseph County*, p. 464.

⁴⁴Francis Comparet came to Fort Wayne in 1820. Bert J. Griswold, *The Pictorial History of Fort Wayne, Indiana* (Chicago, 1917), p. 247; Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard*, pp. 8-13.

⁴⁵Francis Vincent Badin, vicar-general of the diocese of Detroit. The diocese of Vincennes extended only to the Indiana-Michigan border. The region north of this was under the jurisdiction of Bishop Rezé of Detroit, to whom, through his vicar-general, Petit was responsible for his ministrations at Bertrand and other points in Michigan. Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, pp. 121-22, 124. Petit had written to Detroit on November 27, and wrote again on December 28. He received the same powers which Father Deseille had had. *Post*, pp. 56, 121, 123.

I shall say midnight Mass in the church at Bertrand.⁴⁶ It is not entirely finished, but well closed up and, I think, just about as suitable as your respected cathedral, although it is not consecrated. I think I can say the first Mass there just as well as in Mme. Coquillard's parlor. Last Sunday I had twelve children at catechism, afterwards the breviary, and finally our dinner.

Monseigneur, I may be mistaken, and I often am mistaken through ignorance, but I hope the good Lord will pardon me, for he reads at the bottom of my heart a great desire to do well for His glory. And thanks a thousand times to you; you will pardon me, too, for I know your fatherly indulgence for your respectfully devoted son and priest,

B. PETIT

Ptre. Mre.

My friendly respects to M. de la Hailandière: thanks a thousand times for his good letters, and Shaw, Vabret, Berel, and Paret,⁴⁷ for keeping the little cloak and giving me the pleasure of accepting it from me.

We need here the number of your section, which we do not have in the contract for the tax payments.

I think it is proper that I go and settle at the lake:⁴⁸ first, it will please many people; second, I think I am an embarrassment here, though they urge me to stay and they are a thousand times too good; and finally it is more fitting that I be

⁴⁶Bertrand, Michigan, was a village on the St. Joseph River, not far from the Indiana border. See "History of the Extinct Village of Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections*, XXVIII (1900), 128-33.

⁴⁷These four were members of the party which Bruté brought to America in 1836. Michael Edward Shaw (Shawe) was made a deacon December 18, 1836, and was ordained March 12, 1837—the first priest to be ordained in St. Francis Xavier Cathedral at Vincennes. He became the first resident pastor at Madison on July 18, 1836. Father John A. Vabret conducted the Catholic College at Vincennes. Maurice Berel was ordained a priest at Vincennes on December 23, 1837, and continued as an instructor in the school there. Anthony Paret (Parret), ordained a subdeacon December 18, 1836, a deacon December 23, 1837, and a priest August 15, 1838, remained in the Vincennes District. Alerding, *History of The Catholic Church*, p. 226; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, index; Vincennes *Western Sun and General Advertiser*, September 2, 1837, p. 3, c. 4, and following issues.

⁴⁸St. Mary's Lake.

where M. Deseille was. Please tell me in your next letter that you desire me to go there, in order to remove all difficulty in case I should leave my present dwelling. I am thinking of leaving one of these days, but I am somewhat embarrassed: a Westphalian Catholic is going to Europe and wishes to return here, he says, in August next year with about forty Catholic families to found a second town on the Coquillard land on the other side of the river, but he wants a church.

May I presume to send by you, Monseigneur, my respectful greetings to Messieurs Ellis, Law, Stahl, Trouts, and the Moore and Doran families? You will permit me, Monseigneur, to ask for a reply from you or M. de la Hailandière as soon as you can without inconveniencing yourself.

I knew, of course, that I must always have someone present when I say Holy Mass.

Sunday evening. The good Lord spoils me: I had to reconcile the poor Dunker, of whom I believe I spoke above, to the Church today. Then I had a conversation with a Protestant woman⁴⁹ desiring to become a Catholic; she is a believer and appears educated; I do not think it will take long. She came to Mass today in spite of the extreme cold and the icy roads. Some ladies even came from as far as Bertrand—seven miles—a full audience. They tell me of other Protestants: it would be a pity, Monseigneur, to abandon this post. If I am not to remain here, try to send another here.

[Addressed:] To the Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes, Knox Cty. Indiana

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, December 26, 1837

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA⁵⁰]

SOUTH BEND, 26 December, 1837.

MONSEIGNEUR,

If after all the kindness you have shown me so often I could still have doubted that I had found a father's tenderness in you, your letter of December 5, followed at a two-day interval by another, would have sufficed to prove to me the paternal

⁴⁹A Mme. Clarke. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 122.

⁵⁰The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

solicitude for the elder sons of your numerous family which fills your heart.⁵¹

I am surprised, Monseigneur, at my health: one evening at sunset I left Bertrand in snow which was falling heavily to go twenty-four miles to administer to a sick woman at Pokagon's.⁵² I traveled all night through the forest; there were, in the sleigh, M. Benjamin Bertrand⁵³ and I. We upset nine times on the way—superb!—we laughed like kings. We finally arrived at 2 A. M. I had left Bertrand without eating. The day before was a fast day, and, as I wanted to say the first Mass, I didn't take anything. I went to bed on an Indian mat, and after a few hours there I was, as fresh and fit as you can possibly imagine. Mass, sermons to the Indians, confessions all day long, and the next day extreme unction, communion for the sick woman, five other communions—and then we left. Going back we upset only twice. I remember the time when Benjamin would have coughed, grown pale, etc., but he was not a missionary then: that makes quite a difference.

Now to tell you of *my* Christmas: Pokagon's savages arrived at Bertrand for the festival Friday morning, to the number of sixty or seventy. I went there myself and heard confessions until sunset Saturday. They brought me back by sleigh to South Bend, where on Sunday morning after High Mass I had the happiness of baptizing Mme. Clark. I left for Bertrand immediately, and in the afternoon performed seven baptisms, three of which were of Indian adults; then confessions until eleven o'clock, midnight Mass, sermons in French and English, and about fifty communions; the next morning at the lake confessions until High Mass, English and French sermons, and ten or fifteen communions. I shall confess that after these two High Masses, six sermons, and confessions

⁵¹Bruté's solicitude for Petit induced him to request Father François, of Logansport, in a letter of December 24, 1837, to "have an eye on" the young man, "so zealous and little accustomed to the climate." University of Notre Dame Archives.

⁵²The village of Chief Leopold Pokagon. See *ante*, p. 14n.

⁵³Half-breed son of Joseph Bertrand, Sr. "History of . . . Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections*, XXVIII, 130. See *post*, p. 50n.

during these days, I felt very tired, and in the afternoon I fell asleep in an armchair by the fireplace.

I have nothing but the highest praise for the kindness of the Bertrand family, M. and Mme. Coquillard, and M. and Mme. Charron, whether it was to drive anywhere (for when I do not go by sleigh and when I do not want to abuse their kindness, I have to go on foot, my horse being entirely un-serviceable; I do this only for very short trips), or whether to do anything to please me in connection with decorating the altars, etc. I should not, however, like to defer any longer, if I am to remain here, having a good horse; I regard this as necessary equipment; a missionary should not have to depend upon the kindness of others to go anywhere his ministry calls him. However great the kindness may be, it can become exhausted at long last. But I am leaving for Chichipé Outipé tomorrow; I am going to conduct a mission for the savages, and from there I shall pass through Vincennes on my way to Washington.⁵⁴ During my absence M. Mueller's horse will either get well, and then I shall sell him, or die completely. Mme. Coquillard still promises me one which a gentleman owes her as a token of a big sale of lands made by her husband; if she gets it, I shall have it.

I hope to see you soon. I have many things to tell you, and it is a joy to my heart to think of being with you again. Yet I am leaving some children, a family I love much; my heart is always torn and divided and will not be happy anywhere. These ties which the ministry forms are sweet and strong, like all the manifestations of the love of God, whom we serve.

I was so tired at Christmas time that I felt no devotion. I do not know how the savages' journey will take place; I think they are having trouble finding the necessary money. In any event I shall be ready to follow your directions, either going alone with their power of attorney, which they will send me in case they should not be able to come themselves, or both they and I leaving separately to act simultaneously. *Omnia ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.*

⁵⁴This journey was never made, for Bruté apparently overruled the plan the next month. *Post*, p. 124.

I have just seen M. Joseph Bertrand, who has just come from the Mississippi, where he conducted a troop of Indians.⁵⁵ As soon as they arrived there, they were visited by Protestant ministers who offered them their services. "We didn't send for you," said Caldwell,⁵⁶ the great chief of the Potawatomi. "When we need you we shall let you know." But a French priest was there, and they already have a church at Council Bluffs. Who is this priest?⁵⁷ Will it be bad or good fortune for these poor simple Christians? You could find out, Monseigneur, from the Bishop of St. Louis, in whose diocese the place mentioned above is situated.

⁵⁵Joseph Bertrand established a trading post on the west side of the St. Joseph River in 1808, later moving across the river to the site now known as Bertrand. He married Mona, baptized Madeline, daughter of Chief Topenebee, by whom he had several children. Bertrand probably served as an assistant in the emigration of about 450 Potawatomi, including the band of Topenebee, in July, 1837. This party, under the direction of Lewis H. Sands and Moses H. Scott, went to Chicago, where it divided. One hundred and sixty, under Scott, went to the Osage River in Kansas and 287, under Sands, to Council Bluffs. Bertrand joined his family on the Potawatomi reservation in Kansas in 1853. "History of . . . Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, *Collections*, XVIII, 128-33; Otho Winger, *The Potawatomi Indians* (Elgin, Illinois, 1939), pp. 115-19; Moses H. Scott to Lewis H. Sands, November 18, 1837, and Lewis H. Sands to Carey A. Harris, November 18, 1837, Mereness Calendar, Indian Office, Letters Received, Chicago; Daniel McDonald, *History of Lake Maxinkuckee* (Indianapolis, 1905), p. 19.

⁵⁶Sauganash (the Englishman) or Billy Caldwell was a half-breed, son of an Irish officer and a Potawatomi woman. He was educated in the Jesuit schools in Detroit and became an outstanding member of his tribe. In 1835 he left his home in Chicago to emigrate to Iowa; he died on the reserve near Council Bluffs in 1841. Winger, *The Potawatomi Indians*, pp. 108-10; Hodge (ed.), *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 408.

⁵⁷In 1837 there was no mission at Council Bluffs. The first Indian mission west of the Mississippi—perhaps the "church" that Petit mentions—was established among the Kickapoo near Fort Leavenworth, in 1836, by Father Charles Van Quickenborne, aided by Brothers Andrew Mazella and Edmund Barry. Father Christian Hoecken became the first teacher in the school there. On September 13, 1837, the Potawatomi of Council Bluffs, under the direction of the Superior of the Missouri Mission, Father Verhaegen, petitioned the Secretary of War for a school to be conducted by the Catholic Missionary Society of Missouri. The petition was signed by several Potawatomi, including Caldwell. In May, 1838, a mission was established under the direction of Father Peter de Smet and Father Felix Verreydt.

I think, Monseigneur, that toward the end of January I shall have the happiness to ask for your benediction and to offer you my respects in person.

You know, doubtless, that M. Mueller has been very ill again.

I have not yet received an answer from M. Badin in Detroit, and apparently I shall leave before getting one.

As for your fears that I am suffering hardship, I do not at all. I have spent very little and am still rich enough to return home amply provided with the money you personally gave me. I need absolutely nothing. I am little sensitive to the cold and in good health, although a little tired these days.

I beg you, Monseigneur, to accept the respectful expression of sentiments of devotion and submission with which I am,

Your Reverence's very humble and very obedient servant,
priest, and son in Jesus Christ,

B. PETIT

Ptre. Mre.

My respects to all those gentlemen and particularly to M. de la Hailandière, Shaw, Vabret, Berel, Paret—particularly—I have named everybody; this is certainly a large particularization!

[Addressed:] To the Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

PETIT TO HIS FAMILY, January 5 (?), 1838⁵⁸

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 387-89]

Here I am at Chichipé Outipé, in the bosom of my Indian church. How I love my children and what a good time I have among them! The mission is laborious, but what consolations! I shall not repeat it—it is always the same miracle—an incredible succession of conversions among these poor infidels. There

It lasted until 1841. John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (2 volumes. St. Louis, 1928); I, 641-45, 653-54, 660, 663; John F. Kempker, "Catholic Missionaries in the Early and in the Territorial Days of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa*, X (1911), 61.

⁵⁸According to his Journal Petit wrote only one letter between December 28 and January 27, "a letter to France" on January 5. See *post*, p. 124.

are now a thousand to twelve hundred Christians, and what a fervor, what a wonderful and touching simplicity!

It was the last day of the year 1837. I was sleeping on my mat when, toward midnight, I was awakened with a start by a discharge of musketry. One does not take long to arise when one sleeps clothed on mats: I ran to my door, which was being shaken, and opened it. In a moment my room was filled with a crowd of Indians—men, women, children—who had come to wish me Happy New Year. They knelt around me, and I blessed them. Then, all smiles, they pressed my hand. It was truly a family celebration. I made them a brief speech on the past year and the one which had just begun, and I led them all to the chapel, where we said a short prayer. Then they asked my permission to do the same honors to the chiefs, and I granted it without reluctance, as you may well imagine.

Ah, I love them tenderly! If you saw, when I enter a cabin, the little children who surround me and climb on my knees, the father and mother and elder children who gather together, piously make the sign of the cross, and then with a trusting smile come to press my hand—you could not help loving them as I do. When one visits them at their cabins in the evening, one finds them with their heads bent over the fire, singing hymns or reciting the catechism by the light of their brazier. Their zeal is surprising: at this moment I have Christians of three weeks' standing who have learned prayers, catechism, and hymns in a space of time inconceivably short. I am beginning to speak their language a little—to appreciate something of what they say to me. If I had to give you all the details which might interest you, I should never finish. I am truly too happy. Do not wish anything better for me but that God protect us! This mission is menaced by approaching destruction—the government wants to transport the Indians to the other side of the Mississippi. I live between fear and hope, but I entrust my hope and fear to the hands of the Lord!

PETIT TO DE LA HAILANDIÈRE, February 11, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA⁵⁹]

SOUTH BEND, 11 February, 1838.

MONSIEUR AND VERY REVEREND FRIEND:

First to business:⁶⁰ an Indian woman had nine children; her husband died; the woman's brother-in-law, according to the custom of these people, married his dead brother's wife in order to support the family; this was a duty for them. He already had another wife, who, shocked by this, became angry with her husband and left him. She finally became a Christian. Today this is the situation: the first wife, not wishing to return to her unfaithful husband, offers no difficulty: she is not bound to him, he is unfaithful, she is a Christian, both wish to leave each other, and he does not wish to leave his second wife (his sister-in-law)—*si discedit infidelis, discedat*.⁶¹ The difficulty is this: he wishes to become a Christian, and his present wife, his brother's widow, does also, but the latter says she cannot leave him on account of her numerous family, whom he is supporting. They have been living as husband and wife for four years. She has had one more child by him and still has five from the first marriage too young to do without paternal aid, which they receive from their uncle and step-father. Monseigneur, wouldn't there be a means of dispensation for the marriage between brother-in-law and sister-in-law for such weighty reasons? It seems possible to me. The situation demands it; they married in the belief that they were fulfilling a duty. The second wife cannot leave her husband without compromising her numerous family, her husband wishes to keep her, and his first wife declared to me that, even if he sends away the second, she will have nothing to do with him. They have completely separated, and I have declared to the woman that she could marry another. In short, and per-

⁵⁹The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

⁶⁰De la Hailandière was vicar-general of the diocese of Vincennes at this time and could advise Petit in ecclesiastical matters in Bruté's absence. The Bishop had left Vincennes late in December, going south for his health and visiting in St. Louis, New Orleans, and Mobile. He returned to Vincennes on April 2, 1838. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 335-44.

⁶¹"If the unbelieving depart, let him depart." I Corinthians, 7:15.

haps more clearly, if Monseigneur can dispense a marriage between brother-in-law and sister-in-law, I am asking for such a dispensation in the case in question. It is a question of a previously contracted marriage, according to a nation's custom; the interests of a numerous family demand it. For M. Deseille the difficulty was quite different, the man then having two wives; today he has put one of them aside and holds to his sister-in-law. I am repeating myself and becoming a dotard: if there is any way to do it, arrange the dispensation. M. Deseille, it appears, had promised baptism in the present situation, in which this man put aside his first wife and was faithful to his second. It seems to me, also, that I vaguely recall that he consulted the above-mentioned Monseigneur in my presence. Such dispensations are granted to the Ottawa of Michigan for pre-existing marriages.⁶² Try to understand me and if possible grant the dispensation which will render them both good Christians.

It is not necessary for the validity of a baptism that the water touch three times, is it? A child moved during a baptism, and I am afraid I did not moisten it three times, although certain of moistening him at least one good time while pronouncing the words. I think that suffices, but one cannot be too sure for so necessary a sacrament, and, although the books may tell me, I want to be more certain. I am very stupid, am I not?

In regard to the taxes, Monseigneur owes 40 piasters for his last year's tax because of delinquency; it would have been, if paid on time, only 15 piasters. Coquillard had paid before a witness but without getting a receipt. He could recover only his 15 piasters, and the collector, who can do nothing more

⁶²Probably at Arbre Croche (Crooked Tree), near Harbor Springs, Michigan. The Jesuits had a mission there which they visited occasionally from Michilimackinac between 1741 and 1765. Father Dejean visited there in 1824 and Father Vincent Badin in 1825. In May, 1831, Father Frederic Baraga arrived, and in a little over two years baptized 461 Indians. He was succeeded by Father Saenderl (Sänderl) in 1833. Chrysostom Verwyst, "Life and Labors of Bishop Baraga," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Collections*, XXVI (1896), 534-37; *Annales*, VIII (1835-36), No. XLIII, 293-96; John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (2 volumes. New York, 1890-92), I, 342, 343, 347, 354, 614.

about it today since the receipt for the delinquents is in the hands of another, is a poor man and implored them not to act with severity towards him, recognizing that he could be made to pay the 40 piasters.⁶³

Monseigneur tells me of another half section of M. Badin's; he wants me to inquire about the taxes; they amount to 80 dollars today, and if they aren't paid it will be sold next year for taxes. Send me some money, therefore—as many Indiana notes as possible, as they do not accept anything else here at the tax office.

I have had to buy a horse for 70 piasters, 60 in cash and 10 on credit. I have only 7 dollars left—not that I have spent everything, but I lent 200 dollars to the chiefs departing for Washington. If you can send me the money for the Masses⁶⁴ you commissioned me to say, it would please me. In my next letter I shall report all my expenses, dollar for dollar, to you, for I keep an exact account of my time and all my business.

It is as difficult to procure Indiana notes here as money itself.

While I was with my Indians, Charron, the farmer at the lake, sold my poor horse (M. Mueller's) for 18 dollars. The American who bought him, after working him a few days, brought him back, asking for a refund. Charron was unwilling to give it and kept the American's note. The expenses of the lawsuit, which lasted several days, amounted to 30 dollars, and they have been charged to the American. Meanwhile the horse, broken-hearted, probably, at being the cause of so much trouble, died of grief. I am glad of it and for having been absent the whole time.

Here is a fact which probably will interest you: Sinagorra,⁶⁵ Chichipé's first catechist—a man remarkable for his

⁶³The meaning of this paragraph is, apparently, that the tax collector gave the receipt to the wrong person, thus rendering Coquillard's payment in behalf of Bruté invalid and making the collector liable for the amount plus the penalty for delay.

⁶⁴Petit had said ten Masses ordered by De la Hailandière for Father Deseille and Father Schaeffer. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 122.

⁶⁵Perhaps this is William Sinagau, a resident of Menominee's Reserve, who later became head chief of a band of Potawatomi at Rush Lake, Michigan. Buechner, *The Pokagons*, pp. 314, 317.

wit, eloquence, deep faith, devotion to the good works of the mission among his brethren—was very ill in his hunting camp at Christmas time last year. He could not walk, being incapacitated by pain, and he looked on with despair as all his neighbors left for the chapel to celebrate the festival there. He was consumed with the desire to be among them, and gloom settled upon him. Then he made up his mind to go at any price. He had himself put on a horse and left for the village suffering so much that he wept. After a long, painful journey he arrived, unable to walk; bent double, he dragged himself with great difficulty on a cane to the chapel. He joined in the prayer with his usual fervor, and then, after the prayer, he arose, completely cured of his pains and walking without a cane, and returned on foot. The whole village witnessed this. It is wonderful to hear this Indian speak: his features light up with such fire; his speech, his gesture, his face are so expressive; he is so beloved by all the Christians and surrounded by such universal confidence. His spirit, his discourse, and his heart, entirely dedicated to the service of God, make him a missionary so appropriate to his position that you could not help loving him. With all that he has the naïve and humble simplicity of a very small child; he is in my eyes a holy and truly lovable man.

How little savage they are at heart, these Indians, whom the Americans, with their hearts dry as cork and their whole thought “land and money,” fail to appreciate and treat with so much disdain and injustice.

Conforming to Monseigneur’s wish, I have had myself authorized by M. Badin of Detroit: I now have the same powers M. Deseille himself had.⁶⁶

Please reply to me by return mail addressed to Plymouth, Marshall County, where I shall get your letter at the end of this month on my way to Chichipé Outipé, where I am to be for Ash Wednesday. I am, awaiting the honor of your reply, M. Vicar-General,

Your entirely devoted and submissive servant,

B. PETIT
Ptre. Mre.

⁶⁶See *ante*, p. 45.

Yesterday I covered twenty-five miles⁶⁷ on horseback through severe cold. It is strange how little I suffer from the cold, or rather I do not suffer at all from it: I was forced to remove my mittens because I was too warm. My health is still excellent, though my eyes are tired by the snow, which has not left us for nearly two months. They are tired, but not more than others'.

In regard to the money I am asking you for, I shall tell you that my boots are full of holes, and I should be glad to buy a pair of them, or even shoes, but that does not mean that I am suffering at all from the cold: I am like a prince. I have so well got the habit of sleeping on a mat wrapped in blankets that I have one uninterrupted sleep that way from evening to morning, and today I was completely out of my element in the feather bed at M. Coquillard's house. One does not refresh one's self so well that way; it won't do.

I had about ten newly arrived German Catholics here at Mass this morning. I had to improvise in English. How are the gentlemen of the College and the Seminary?⁶⁸ Is the institution prospering? My respects to all.

Mother tells me she sent a parcel; if you should receive it, I should like you to have a pair of riding breeches and leggings forwarded to me, if you could, addressing them to M. François by steamboat.

⁶⁷This is the distance from Menominee's Reserve near Plymouth to South Bend.

⁶⁸Before the see of Vincennes was created in 1834, there was a school there, taught by four Sisters of Charity from Nazareth, Kentucky. The sisters were withdrawn temporarily, but returned in 1835. In 1838, the Superiors at Nazareth recalled two of the four sisters. The other two remained until 1838, when two sisters from Mt. St. Mary's near Emmitsburg, Maryland, replaced them. They were more experienced, and able to carry out Bruté's plans for a boarding school, day school, and a separate free school. Aided by funds which he collected on his trip to France and Italy in 1836, Bruté set up the Catholic College of Vincennes in the fall of 1837; in the fall of 1838 St. Mary's Academy and Free School was opened. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 229, 236-37, 320, 341-43; Alerding, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 149; Bayley, *Memoirs*, pp. 93-94, 96; advertisements in *Vincennes Western Sun and General Advertiser*, September 2, 1837, p. 3, c. 4, August 18, 1838, p. 3, c. 5, and following issues.

I shall send you immediately, in a box, my little Indian family leaving for France.⁶⁹

How is Monseigneur?

Have you any news from France?

[Addressed:] To the Very Revd. C. de la Hailandière
Pastor of the Catholic congregation Vincennes, Knox Cty.
Indiana.

PETIT TO DE LA HAILANDIÈRE, March 25, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA⁷⁰]

SOUTH BEND, 25 March, 1838.

M. THE VICAR-GENERAL (AND DEAR FRIEND),

First, I could not and cannot help laughing upon reading the salutation of your letter to Benjamin: "Monsieur and dear colleague." It is so serious, so dignified, so official, so canonical that, not knowing how to answer, I wrote in all dignity "M. the Vicar-General," subordinating in parentheses an apostrophe which you deign to allow me and which your pen ordinarily calls me when it has no distractions. . . .⁷¹

To be serious: I received the 150 piasters safe and sound, and it is with a painful feeling that I have to render you an account of the tax affair which will surprise you. The lake farm⁷² had not paid its taxes of 1836 and 1837; here is a detailed account of the affair:

Taxes for 1836, due December 1, 1836	\$20.251
Fine for delay in payment, 50%	10.126
Increase which runs day by day, 100%	
a year, dating from December 1, 1836,	
which makes a delinquency of 1 year,	
3 months, and 22 days	26.68

⁶⁹Perhaps a picture.

⁷⁰The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

⁷¹This is not an ellipsis. Petit apparently used this means to indicate a change of tone in his letter.

⁷²Petit refers to the land on Lake St. Mary's which Father Badin purchased and deeded to Bruté.

This is the enormous amount I have had
to pay

\$83.05⁷³

You told me to look into it closely; I have been able to do nothing in that regard but to figure it out myself on the basis that I am communicating to you according to the instructions I received. This is what I think of what has happened: M. Coquillard was negligent in notifying me. The collector told me this morning that Coquillard had come to make payment too late, and he probably did not want to pay the penalty and the increase; so he left the matter there. It has increased day by day since then. He had committed himself to pay only the current taxes and not the penalty and the increase, but he ought to have notified us sooner. When he made this benevolent promise, during the Bishop's visit,⁷⁴ the penalty and increase for 1836 had already been incurred.

I do not yet know the section number of M. Badin's farm, and consequently I do not know what there is of it. I shall attend to it.

I expressed myself badly if you understood that the woman whom I assured was free was leaving in spite of his wishes the man who had been her husband ever since she had become a Christian. He is willing to keep her if he can have two wives—his situation for several years—but, as I told him in order to become a Christian he must have only one, he is leaving the former and keeping the other—his sister-in-law, the mother of that numerous family for whom I asked dispensation—for his legitimate wife. As for the dispensation, I am not of your opinion (I am ashamed to say so, as if I am entitled to an opinion in theology) in regard to the *necessity*. Many authors interpret it as a moral necessity, which I believe I see in the interests of a numerous family. Remember it is very difficult to find a man willing to take the maintenance of a family like that upon himself; I believe there are five

⁷³See the Journal, *post*, pp. 125, 133-34. In his letter Petit omitted the 1837 tax, amounting to \$26.00, which would bring the total to \$83.05. There was also a town clerk's fee of 25 cents which brought the total Petit paid to \$83.30 or \$83.31.

⁷⁴Bishop Bruté visited South Bend in June, 1837. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 311.

children, still minors or very young, out of a family of ten; add to this their complete good faith and the idea of fulfillment of a duty, which united them. Finally the three letters in which I spoke to you of the situation will give Monseigneur, I think, an exact idea of the case. We shall see his opinion; I am waiting.

I feel in error about Lent: not knowing what prescriptions to have, I have followed last year's: fast every day, meatless Wednesday and Friday each week and all the Holy Week. I find myself agreeing with M. François in this: on meat days one single meal. I have even given dispensation to the savages in regard to eating meat during Holy Week, except Wednesday and Friday. On meatless days they eat only corn, on Sunday meat at every meal. I should have conformed to your ideas if I had received them sooner, but, when they came, we were in the midst of Lent, and I have given instructions which I was unwilling to alter because I could not do it effectively and it would have caused disturbance and confusion among my children—some doing one thing, some another.

As for this marriage which the wife of the man who disappeared three years ago would like to contract: although he is probably dead, I do not regard that as certain enough to permit his hypothetical widow to contract a second marriage. I told them my opinion, but I promised to obtain that of the diocese.

I do not know how to send you my little savages, my letters, and my moccasins; the roads are so bad the stages do not run any more.

I do not know definitely whether my mission is going to be destroyed; there is not much to hope for and much to fear. In Washington people are trying to frighten them and prevent them from seeing the President.⁷⁵ I believe, however, that they

⁷⁵A delegation of Potawatomi chiefs was in Washington by March 3, under the care of J. T. Douglass. They returned late in the month, arriving at Cincinnati on March 26. There is no record of their interview with President Van Buren other than Menominee's statement "that when at Washington last winter he heard the President say, that no white men had any right to come upon their land until they had ceded it to the Government." J. T. Douglass to Carey A. Harris, February 4, March 13 and 26, 1838, Indian Office, Letters Received, Indiana and Miscellaneous; Abel C. Pepper to Harris, May 5, 1838, Indian Office, Letters Received, Potawatomi.

have seen him, introduced by a friend of Monseigneur's for whom I endorsed, for the benefit of the chiefs, a recommendation which Monseigneur had personally given me. We shall soon know the result. I have put them under the Holy Virgin's protection on the day of the presentation, and I intend, if they remain, to give the name of Notre Dame of the Presentation to the mission. *Fiat voluntas tua.*⁷⁶ That is all I can say, although I deeply desire that such a cup pass far from me, if possible. I accept the bitterness of it, however, and every day I offer it to God for them and for me.

I had the pleasure of seeing M. François among the Indians; he was charmed with the few he saw. After the confessions at the beginning of Lent nearly all of them departed for their sugar works, which they will leave only in time for Easter. My heart is proudly Indian, and they themselves love me well, too. It is strange how God disposes all things through His providence: on this trip I gave advice to the sick, grandmother's advice; I prescribed bread-crumble poultices, applications of soap and sugar, and I am a great doctor among them. I took Father François to see them in their rush huts, and he was very much surprised to hear me chat with them without an interpreter, as well as sing Indian hymns during his Mass. I am astonished myself sometimes. I have a father's yearning for them, and I feel oppressed by a profound anguish whenever I think of seeing them forced to depart, perhaps without a priest: a thousand Christians deprived of those sacraments and that word of God which they love so much, in a country where false ministers are already preparing their batteries under the guise of religion to take possession of the money the Indians will receive for many years yet.

My health has been spared colds this winter; I have a slight temperature, but I am taking pills and it is improving. The worst of my situation is that, having one day come very fast from Chichipé to South Bend in very severe cold without underdrawers, I received saddle sores. Forced to return without getting well, I bruised my haunches. As a result of this I was obliged to hear confessions standing eight days in succes-

⁷⁶Thy will be done.

sion, without ever sitting down with any comfort. Thank the Lord this is better now, and this journey did not injure me too much.⁷⁷

The day after tomorrow I depart for Turkey Creek Prairie, forty miles in the general direction of Fort Wayne; I am to conduct a funeral service there and give a little explanation of our holy faith. I hope my posterior parts will not suffer too much from it.

M. Coquillard, who has just arrived from Fort Wayne, told me that they want me there very much. There are those who complain of M. Mueller, and they would like to tell me about it. I feel no need or desire to interfere. M. Mueller, I trust, with God's aid, will triumph over this dissatisfaction by his firmness and his conduct; may God help him! I myself am too young to interfere in this; I can, however, write him what I think. Should I?

As to France, let them marry, run about, dance, die (that is the world as I knew it when I was young and a Frenchman); I scarcely bother myself about it any longer, now that I am old and an Indian. Yet I still deeply desire that the Good Lord will bless them and preserve the gift of the faith which is so precious in them. May they become less guilty of the abuse of so many favors before God.

Farewell, dear and respected friend. My homage to Monseigneur and respectful greetings to all.

Entirely yours with respect and devotion,

B. PETIT

Ptre. Mre.

Will you request for me from France a good ordinary alarm watch with a double case, also the theological dictionary by Bergier?⁷⁸ My little watch is always at variance with the sun; I never know which will win out in the end. *Nin Muckah-taokônia Chichipé Outipé angenickaso gatamikoa tchaiai Muckatahokônia Autchakpock Kick*. I, the Black Robe, called the "duck's head," I greet all the Black Robes from the mouth to the source (Vincennes).

⁷⁷Petit left Chichipé Outipé for South Bend on February 10. He returned on February 26.

⁷⁸Nicholas Sylvestre Bergier (1715-1890), French theologian.

[Addressed:] To the Very Revd. C. de la Hailandière
Pastor of the Catholic congregation Vincennes, (Knox Cty).
Indiana.

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, April 1, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA⁷⁹]

SOUTH BEND, 1 April, 1838.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I conclude, from the last letter I received from M. de la Hailandière, that by today you are back from your journey (may it have been good for your precious health!). That is why I am addressing you this letter, in which my inexperience consults you for decisions it needs to make.

I baptized an American woman married to a French Catholic—that is, nonpracticing Catholic. I wanted to have him come to confession in order to marry them; I did not succeed, and, when his wife told him to come to me, he said, “No.” Should I, notwithstanding his refusal, ignore it and give them nuptial benediction for the sake of the wife, a Catholic today and very well disposed?

Last week I took a little journey:⁸⁰ I went to Leesburg, forty miles away, to preach at the funeral of a poor Maryland Catholic⁸¹ who, when dying, asked for this. His whole family is Catholic, but for twenty-two years they have not seen a priest; I also found there an Irishman⁸² and his family and a Frenchman, all of whom are Catholic. My coming was known in the region, and a large and brilliant assemblage gathered at the home of the deceased. At the appointed time I arrived by horse and proceeded to bless the grave; then I betook myself to a large house, where some seats were provided. Everybody around me was Protestant except my Irishman and my Frenchman. I knelt, and after a brief prayer I was much amazed to find myself speaking to them with such ease. It was as if the voice of the deceased had called upon me

⁷⁹The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

⁸⁰See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 125.

⁸¹Mr. Norris. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 125.

⁸²Probably Mr. Horan. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 125.

to justify the faith he had always professed: condemnation of private interpretation, authority, the established precept of Jesus Christ, unity of doctrine, the line of succession in the apostolic mission, the cross, images, invocation of saints, remission of sins, confessions (they said M. Coquillard gets a license every year for 100 dollars to do everything he pleases during the year without jeopardizing his soul!), purgatory, prayer for the dead. In the heat of my conclusion I asked the audience to pray for the deceased, to join their prayers to mine: was I not wrong to speak thus to Protestants? It was not well considered; I said it inadvertently. When I was coming to a close, an old man, his temples sparsely covered with gray hair, with an inward and remorseful expression, began to groan, "Oh, Lord!" That made me end at once.

I saw there several savages, not of the faith, drinking and sinning. One of them told me he did not know God and it was indeed good to drink; he had just received a knife wound and was naked, having only his girdle and a blanket on his back. He made fun of me. I spoke with another, who did not like to drink, but he was a gambler; I gave him a shilling for tobacco and he promised me he would come to confession at Chichipé. Some drunken Indian women came there; I did not speak to them. You will not understand—I myself do not know why—my heart was so sick when I saw them act so badly. The good Lord has made me so full of pity for them that, although I had never seen them before, when I realized what a sad plight they were in and that they needed only a priest and a little time to make them as good as my poor little children, I wept bitterly for them in my soul. They have souls, too, and redemption is for them, too. I assure you that they understood me well although they had never heard me before. Some say I shall speak passable Indian in three months. All I know is that I love them much, I love their language, and I pray the good Lord to bless me as an instrument for their salvation: that is my sole desire. May His holy will be accomplished in me; I am too happy when I consider my busy life, and at the present moment I dare to hope I shall be carrying out the intentions of His Providence.

On my way back I said Mass with a German family at Goshen; there I baptized a child of this Lutheran, to whom I believe you spoke on your journey last spring with regard to the baptism of his children.

I have begun my Easter labors; I shall indeed be busy.

I have the honor, Monseigneur, to offer you the homage of the very respectful and submissive devotion of your son and priest,

B. PETIT
Ptre. Mre.

My health, Monseigneur, is very good.

No news from Washington, except that our business is under consideration and they are attending to it. What will be the outcome? I wait and pray.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

PETIT TO HIS FAMILY, April 4, 1838⁸³

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 389-91]

My cherished home now is my Indians' village. There I have a grand habitation built of entire logs placed one above the other; in more than one spot we can see daylight through the walls. My fireplace would be large enough to contain a quarter of a cord of wood. I don't walk on rugs, but on planks which, not being fastened, tremble underfoot like piano keys under a musician's fingers. At night I throw a mat with two coverlets down on them—one above, the other beneath me—and I sleep on this poor bed as well as I should on the most sumptuous couch in the world.

Last week I had to go to Turkey Creek to preach at the grave of a poor Catholic who died without having seen a priest for twenty years at least. There were only two Catholic families in that region—all the rest were Protestant. The gathering was large; the Methodist ministers had come there. Obligated to preach in English, I was afraid of being nervous. But God takes pity on us, and more than once I proved the

⁸³The date of this letter is given in the *Annales* as April 4, 1838. Under April 10, Petit's Journal mentions a "letter to France."

force of Jesus Christ's promise: "Take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak."⁸⁴ I knelt in a corner of a large room filled with benches, addressed a brief prayer to God, recited an *Ave Maria*; and then, having made the sign of the cross, I spoke about an hour—completely at my ease. It was the voice of the dead man justifying the faith he had professed in life—condemnation of private interpretation, the divine institution of authority, the uninterrupted mission of the Catholic Church, unity of doctrine, and, finally, a reply to the numerous calumnies spread against us. The nomadic life of the missionary is entirely designed to remove him from worldly desires. It is in living thus—always going from place to place—that one feels one's self only a passer-by on the earth. Never have I had more freedom of spirit. I believe I can truly say that I wish to die, if God wills it, without ever having felt tired of life. Amidst these labors my health seems to become fortified. Well, perhaps forty years of this mission, and then heaven! Perhaps not even forty days, and then heaven! I accept willingly one or the other—it matters little which—provided I am in good favor with God. . . .

I now face the sad prospect of my Indian mission's early destruction, and it is like a dark background to the picture of my present life. I begin, however, to feel more resigned. A trip to Washington, with pressing protestations to the President, has been without effect. My poor Indians have only one chance left.⁸⁵ Will they succeed? God knows. As for me, I must dry their tears when they go into exile—I must destroy the altar and the church, lay low the cross which stands on their graves, in order to spare the sacred articles from profana-

⁸⁴Matthew 10:19.

⁸⁵Petit perhaps means that the Indians might defend their claims in the courts. John Tipton, in his report to Governor Wallace, wrote: "The Indians were under the influence of bad counsel from different sources. They were owing large debts to the traders, who opposed the emigration of the Indians before their debts were paid or secured. Some were anxious to keep them where they were, hoping to obtain, with ease, a part of the money paid them as annuity. Lawyers, I am told, advised Me-no-mi-nee to keep possession, and defend his claim to the reserve in our courts." No such steps were taken. *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, pp. 727-30. See *post*, p. 81.

tion, and then I must say farewell to those whom I love and who love me so much, never to see them again! And these Christian souls will waste away without the aid of the sacraments of which they partook with such love, and languish under a strange sky where I, their father, probably cannot follow them.

Ah, I shall do everything possible to keep from abandoning them! If they leave, I want to go with them at least as far as the Jesuit missions on the Mississippi, which have not yet become active.⁸⁶ And meanwhile many of my Christians, my children, will die without a priest to absolve them. God alone knows all my heartaches—for three months I have been seeking to know and do His just and merciful will in regard to all this.

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, May 26, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA⁸⁷]

SOUTH BEND, 26 May, 1838.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I have gone longer than usual without giving you an account of my time, but I have been so busy celebrating Easter with those whom my heart loves so much to call my children, that I have not been able to find a moment to do it.

I departed for Chichipé Outipé on Tuesday of Holy Week; I had celebrated Easter at South Bend and Bertrand the previous weeks. From Wednesday of Holy Week until the fourth Sunday after Easter inclusive, we heard confessions constantly from morning until evening, hardly having time to eat. In all that time I had respite only when I was called to visit the sick, once on the Tippecanoe and again at South Bend, when it was Mme. Coquillard's sister.⁸⁸ She was the first person I have seen die. She heard and understood me until the end; the good Lord helped me. An impressive burial, a funeral sermon before an audience wholly Protestant (or at least largely Protestant), Catholic burial in the Catholic cemetery which I laid out on your land at the lake.

⁸⁶See *ante*, pp. 50-51n.

⁸⁷The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

⁸⁸Mrs. John A. Hendricks, a half-sister of Mme. Coquillard. Chapman, *History of St. Joseph County*, p. 502.

The number of communions was 208. I cannot tell you the number of baptisms and marriages, having left my list at Chichipé; it was large,⁸⁹ and a good number had hearts fully receptive to grace. I had the happiness of baptizing an American Baptist woman of the vicinity. After every kind of opposition and contradiction on the part of her husband, she finally obtained an indirect consent, of which we took advantage.

On May 14 I departed with Mlle. Campeau for Pokagon's. There from the 16th until the 24th inclusive we heard confessions and preached; there I heard my first confession without an interpreter: only one word was troublesome to understand, and my exhortation was very well understood. I understand almost everything now, and I myself ask the ordinary questions. The number of communions was 63, baptisms 15,⁹⁰ and marriages 5.

All these Indians, or most of them, have settled on their own land, pay taxes, and enjoy general esteem and confidence. I saw an American who, knowing Pokagon was departing for Bertrand, handed him some money to pay his debts there without taking a receipt. They work quite wonderfully.

The number of Catholics has increased considerably. A German of the vicinity proposes to add his own personal subscription⁹¹ of 1,000 piasters (others say 500) to M. Coquillard's generous one. A good number of Irishmen told M. Coquillard recently that, if I came to South Bend, they would proceed to settle in the neighborhood; that, if I went to the Yellow River, they would settle there: for them no reason exists for this decision other than proximity to a priest and the Church.

Such, Monseigneur, is a brief sketch of the present condition of the immense mission confided to the care of your poor young priest. To say we are tired would be quite easy, but the good Lord gives us strength. When we went to Pokagon's,

⁸⁹According to the Baptismal Register Petit performed twenty-seven baptisms at Chichipé Outipé during the months of April and May. *Post*, pp. 138-39.

⁹⁰Eighteen baptisms and four marriages are recorded. See *post*, p. 139.

⁹¹To the Church.

the labor of the journey brought us out of our seclusion of five weeks, and we rested by working again.

Remember Demoiselle Campeau is 72 years old, thanks to the Lord.

We shall take eight days' rest⁹² at South Bend and then return to celebrate the feast of the Pentecost⁹³ with the Indians. We need a little rest, however, and I am invited to take it with a Frenchman who is married to a rich Indian woman, formerly one of my children. I shall stay there probably for several days.

Here is a case to decide: an Indian woman lived five years with an American who was not baptized or Protestant; she fell ill; Mlle. Campeau privately baptized her on condition that she leave this man. She recovered and returned to him; M. Deseille refused her admission to the sacraments and to the subsequent ceremonies of baptism as long as she stayed with him. Without presuming to reflect upon the opinions of those who are better instructed than I and who have thought differently, I do not believe this should be required of this woman (I Cor. 7:13: "If any woman have a husband that believeth not and he consent to dwell with her, let her not put away her husband"). This is all the more true because this woman has not only not declined her duties as a Christian but even urges him to perform them. There is one obstacle to reinstatement, however, and that is the astonishment others would feel at it; but a false scandal, all things considered, should not make a soul believe she has an illicit connection when in truth she has not. This is my opinion: she is determined to leave him today; if he is unwilling to become a Christian and marry, I do not think I have the right to impose the obligation upon him. *Quid juris?*⁹⁴

There is no *bis in idem*⁹⁵ in the fifty per cent incurred by the delinquency in the tax payment and the 100% interest per year. One is for the mere fact of delinquency in tax payment; the other is for the greater or lesser delinquency in tax payment and the penalty incurred—two very different things.

⁹²He actually took only five. See his Journal, *post*, p. 126.

⁹³Pentecost this year occurred on June 3.

⁹⁴What is the law?

⁹⁵Double application.

However, I have the proper receipt; if there was any error, I could get my money back.

I am going to be obliged to employ the sheriff and the law against an American who has cut some wood on your land at the lake. However, I want to speak to him politely first: if he will pay willingly, well and good; if not, I shall use authority. After all, we must stop the depredations. Apparently I like lawsuits—what do you think, Monseigneur? I thought I didn't.

I lent the savages the 200-dollar bill which you had given me to go to Washington; they needed it for their own journey, and, as you had intended it to be spent for them, I thought I would be carrying out your intention thus. If I am mistaken, scold me; perhaps I deserve it.

Monseigneur, it is in no wise for the purpose of objecting to or of obstructing your decision concerning me, but this is what I ought to submit for your consideration: the emigration of the savages is far from having been decided upon; even in case the agents succeed in what they are attempting, a large number of Christians will remain on lands they still possess; the affair of the treaty will be pleaded before a judge,⁹⁶ and perhaps, who knows? the mission will go on. In any case they do not want to leave, and the government's orders are not to use force; so a good number will still remain scattered throughout the country on farms they will buy. Mlle. Campeau is old and becoming tired: she speaks of returning to her beautiful lands, for you know (and this increases the value of her devotion) that she is very rich. We have both got on very well, and she likes me very much; if I leave, she will leave, too. Then how shall we give all these Christian Indians (no longer savage: they are less so than most of these coarse American woodsmen) the help of religion? Consider also that without my being able to do serious work among them the good Lord has in a few months given me knowledge of a part of their language, the favor of making myself understood in many ways, and a good Indian pronunciation: I read and write their language sufficiently to be well understood and read by them, and everybody says that before winter I shall be able to dispense with an interpreter at all confessions; they themselves

⁹⁶See *ante*, p. 66n.

show their astonishment at this. I, too, am very much surprised that I am able to express my ideas in this language, which, moreover, I love very much and which is very musical. They say that in a year I shall speak good Indian; thus I would become, if God wills it, an Indian missionary. This is all the more strange because in the few months I have spent here several long intervals have occurred without my saying a single word in Indian; sometimes I remained an entire month at South Bend. My temperament agrees with theirs, and remember (I must tell you everything), I am more Indian than any of the priests I know. An old woman said to me a short time ago, "I am sad, Father; I think perhaps you will go away soon to the great Black Robe and we shall see you no more." "If my chief desires it, I must obey; I am not my own master. But God will send you another French father in my place." "Yes," she told me, "he would be a Frenchman, but you are already a Potawatomi and soon will be nothing but a Potawatomi."

There are, Monseigneur, many little things one must overlook in them, in regard to the amenities of life, and to scorn these amenities readily is to have seen the emptiness of the world. A missionary entrusted with them must also understand a little about business, for he is their father in everything. The good Lord makes me feel the sweet joy of serving Him, and sometimes my heart overflows with joy and my eyes with sweet tears as I think of my happy fate.

I believe, Monseigneur, I ought to tell you all this, but do not think, I beg you, that I am any the less submissive to Your Reverence's decisions, whatever they may be.

With respect and submission, your son and priest,

B. PETIT.

In regard to M. Badin's tax, I cannot pay it, not knowing his section numbers exactly; if you can send them to me, I shall be able to pay it. A good part of the land has not yet been taxed, and taxes on the rest of it amount to only 3 dollars. There is no danger in a little delay, and then I shall certainly pay without the risk of paying for another; in such a case there is no recourse, the money being immediately used for schools.

I have seen the law regarding paid taxes and regarding the *bis in idem* of Judge Moore⁹⁷: the law and the Judge are not of the same opinion.

The agent who is coming to get the Indians is the son-in-law of the Baptist Missionary, McCoy⁹⁸; he says there are some French priests down there. What priests can they be?—without mission, without means of making money (you will know the facts better than I). The priest might be a Frenchman from the diocese of Bardstown. Who sent him there? *In manus Domini commendo me et meas oves.*

[Addressed:] To the Right Rd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

PETIT TO HIS FAMILY, May 31, 1838

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. XLV, 391]

I have gone longer than usual without writing to you, but it was Easter time, and the poor missionary was burdened with work. . . .

First, I have celebrated Easter at Bertrand in Michigan, then at South Bend. After this I left for Chichipé Outipé, where for five weeks I heard confession from morning to evening without any rest other than two visits to sick people⁹⁹ forty miles distant from each other. Thence I had to bear ministerial consolation to Chief Pokagon, sixty miles from Chichipé Outipé, in Michigan. Perhaps you think missionaries are saints, but I shall admit to you that all this time I scarcely ever could say a prayer. Confessions finished and the breviary told, I fell asleep on my mat. Fortunately my sleep is always like that of a child—calm, refreshing, and without interruption. Truly—and this thought consoles me—the day's fatigue was all for the glory of the good Lord, to whom I gave myself entirely; He is good enough to accept it as a continual prayer.

⁹⁷Unidentified.

⁹⁸William Polke, a brother-in-law, not a son-in-law of Isaac McCoy, was to conduct this emigrating party. During 1824 and 1825 he had been associated with Carey Mission and later was a teacher among the Ottawa. McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions*, pp. 205, 213-17, 224, 258-59.

⁹⁹A sick woman at Benack's home on the Tippecanoe and Mrs. John A. Hendricks at South Bend. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 126.

It would be a continual sacrifice for him who could render it well. Yet there are still many moments when, in spite of the weariness of soul which fatigue brings, my heart is filled with joy and my eyes are moist with sweet tears—it is so good to be in a world where one has nothing to do but work for God!

Thanks to Thee, my Lord!

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, June 20 and 23, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA¹]

20 June, 1838, CHICHIPÉ OUTIPÉ

MONSEIGNEUR,

I am taking advantage of one of the first leisure moments I have been able to find in a long time to inform you of the blessings which the good Lord has bestowed upon the mission entrusted to your child. Since Easter the number of baptisms at Chichipé Outipé has been 83 and at Pokagon's 15.² I gave you the number of communions at the Chichipé Outipé mission at Easter time; since the feast of the Pentecost there have been 166 here. Another thing which doubtless will surprise you is that today, to the Indians' great satisfaction, I am hearing confessions without an interpreter, understanding their language rather well and speaking it sufficiently to give them advice and question them. I began at the Pentecost: I had asked this favor of the good Lord on that great day. Mlle. Campeau's great fatigue induced me to try, and I saw that they understood me and I understood them better than I thought I could. The good Lord indeed helps missionaries; I am very glad, for the idea of an interpreter is quite incongruous.

I had the happiness of easing at death a young Indian girl who had been sick for four years, and I was much exalted by the beautiful signs which she made with all the ardor of a saint at the least word of mine. She understood me well; I comforted her in her death agony.

Since that time I have had to baptize an Indian forty miles from here on the Eel River,³ and there too I heard confessions

¹The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

²See *ante*, p. 68.

³At the village of the Potawatomi chief, Louison (Weeson, Wesaw). See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 126.

all the time I was there from morning until evening. Everybody was surprised, including me, to hear me speak Indian.

A French lady⁴ whose confession I heard at Christmas time came eighty miles to spend a day here, along with her son and two young daughters, whom she had prepared for their first communion. I had heard all their confessions last Christmas at Bertrand, where they had come for the festivities. They were much edified by the Indians, and the Indians by them. After spending a day and a half with us, they left weeping. The charity with which the Indians welcome Catholics who come to pray with them from time to time is an edifying thing. It gives me pleasure to see their fraternal affection in Jesus Christ; their hearts are indeed under the influence of grace.

St. Mary of the Lake, 23 June: Upon arriving yesterday I found your good and respected letter dated May 25. I think you have received the one I myself wrote to you dated May 26⁵ and that excess of work will have excused my silence.

I felt something in my heart which announced to me the decision you have made for me, and every day at High Mass I prayed the good Lord to explain your decision for His glory and our salvation. The good Lord treats me like a spoiled child; I have been thus favored all my life. It is truly a blessing to be placed in the midst of souls like these, and the ties of the ministry are like family ties; not that there are no difficulties (they have to exist everywhere), but the consolations outweigh them.

Now to business. *First*: a man and a woman are living together; the man is baptized, and his wife had been earlier. M. Deseille told him to tell his wife to come so that they might get married. He did not tell his wife, and she knew nothing about it until much later; then she said to him, "Well, let's go and get married." "No," replied he. "I will not marry you." Am I to consider his continued cohabitation as an implicit marriage, or his silence and then his refusal to be married as a proof of lack of consent since his baptism? "I can take another wife," he reasons; "I am not married." As long as he

⁴Mme. Mouton. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 127.

⁵See *ante*, pp. 67-72.

was not married before a priest, he has never considered himself bound; there has not been, therefore, this consent which alone can bind. I tried to reunite them, to reconcile them: it never lasts more than a day, and a bad situation is certain if they are married. There might be a way to consider them not bound, I think; they are again separated now, and neither one desires a reunion. I think they may be considered free, the consent of both not having coexisted. The man has already taken another wife and lived with her a good part of the winter; as soon as they returned to the mission from hunting, I separated them.

Second: an unbeliever becomes disgusted with his wife, puts her away, and takes his first wife's sister; both are unbelievers. The first wife is afterwards baptized; he has been, too, but the obligation of leaving his second wife, with whom he was then living, was imposed upon him because she was his sister-in-law. Could this be done? He was able to take her, being an unbeliever; could he be forced to leave her when he became a Christian? She has a numerous family by him and his brother, for they are doubly brothers- and sisters-in-law, the two sisters having at the outset been the two brothers' wives. When he was baptized, it was a long time after he had taken his sister-in-law for a wife (I believe it was five or six years), and he had completely given up the other. He wants a wife, but he doesn't know what to do. No one will separate him from the one he wants because he was once an evildoer; he will never take back his first wife: he cannot be forced to do it. He had left her a long time before his baptism; he separated from his second wife out of obedience when he was baptized, but he would like to take her back.

You ask me if I think it proper for you to come and give confirmation at Chichipé Outipé now. As you say, they (the Americans) would say you were coming to prevent the savages from departing; they would see a Catholic attempt at high treason in it. Soon, I hope—perhaps in September—I shall welcome you here more peaceably.

At Washington the government has given the Indians no answer; apart from that hope, your lands are lost. But the Indians have received the advice of people of the highest rank

in the legislature, and they are following it. Their case will come to trial and will be heard in the near future in the Federal Court at Indianapolis. Their lawyer declares stoutly to whoever will listen that the savages are sure of winning.⁶

The agent in charge of the emigration⁷ is now on the scene, but up to the present time the savages have paid no attention to him: they farm and build their houses under his very eyes, driving him frantic. "They are like pillars: there is no way to budge them from their homes," he recently said, right out in public. When he says anything to them, the savages reduce him to silence in short order, forcefully and spiritedly, and they declare positively that they will not go. Some savages came from the Mississippi and told them it was better to be wretched here than to go down there, where one dies of hunger and where the land produces nothing. Attempts were made to bribe them to say it was fine: they refused the money and declared they would not deceive their brothers.

As for me, this is my situation: the first individual I met at the mission upon returning from Pokagon's was the agent. He was on horseback and I also. "Are you the gentleman living at the chapel?" "Yes, sir." "I am the superintendent of Indian affairs." A nod of the head was my reply. "I shall come to see you one of these days. I shall be here for some time, sir."

And then the days passed; he didn't come; finally he came. There was a rather large number of savages present. He sat down on the threshold of a little house in the yard, his interpreter at his side; I even think they slept there for some time. Then they took their horses again and departed without saying anything to anyone.

The third time he came: "Sir, may I speak to you for a moment?" "Yes, sir." Without witnesses, seated on a block of wood at the end of the chapel, we entered into conversation. "Sir, am I to consider you an enemy of the government, interfering with the carrying out of its policy here?" "Not in

⁶See *ante*, p. 66n, and *post*, p. 81.

⁷William Polke. By June 28 between four and five hundred Indians were collected near Plymouth in preparation for the emigration. *Logansport Herald*, June 28, 1838, p. 3, c. 1.

the least." "Are you here as a lawyer or as the minister of a religion?" "It is true, sir, that I have studied and practiced law, but today I am a priest and occupied solely with my ministry; such are the orders I have received from my Bishop, and I conform to them. As for emigration, I have never said anything for or against it, and I never shall say anything; I leave such things alone. As for acting as a lawyer, I gave that up a long time ago; I shall not be one again except in case I am personally attacked or my rights are challenged." "Sir, I have accusations against you." "I know that, sir, and the men who accuse me are the same men who accuse Mlle. Campeau. Well, a month ago, in the presence of the general agent,⁸ one of them rose and said he had witnesses to prove that Mlle. Campeau was holding them back. She defied him publicly to produce them, and he tried to do it, but they all replied to him, 'I don't know.' And yet they had signed the accusation. Such are the accusations against me; you know them." "Accordingly, I deemed it more proper to come to you directly: the gentlemanly way you received me demanded that, sir; and from the first moment I saw you I thought there was too much good sense in your head for you to be the man these people describe." "You have done well, sir; Col. Pepper was obliged to repent having been too hasty last year with M. Deseille. I claim as a right among gentlemen that you should come to me to obtain the explanations which these people's accusations may render necessary." "Sir, many innocent persons are persecuted because false reports deceive government officials. As for us, we have no intention of embarrassing you in the exercise of your ministry. We do not think of depriving the Indians of it as long as they remain here." "Sir, that is a right which the Constitution of the United States guarantees me." "Are you an alien or a citizen?" "I am a Frenchman." "Well, then, it is true, not being subject to the law, you cannot be punished, but you can be ejected from Indian territory." "Only if it were proved against me that I am at fault, and one accusation is not enough." "That is correct, sir. I do not know, sir, why the Indians always believe we are lying." "That is very simple, sir. During the last few years ten or twelve men have come

⁸Colonel Abel C. Pepper.

who have so grossly lied to the Indians and who have posed as agents that today the Indians naturally believe an agent is a man paid to deceive them. For example, M. ———, the assistant agent,⁹ asked me to make an announcement to the Indians concerning the priest they were to obtain to accompany them. I did not think I should take what he told me seriously: to some he says one thing and to others another." "Sir, perhaps there is a way to reconcile apparent contradictions." "Sir, that is what he told me, and to be more convincing he named non-existent bishops to me: this is what one of them told M. ———, and that is a third version of M. ———'s. I felt I could not make an announcement on such authority." "That is true, sir." And then he showed me some of his instructions—all the more firm for being polite—to try to persuade them to leave. And then came an invitation to visit him, and his surprise when he learned that the mission's savages had a private, personal claim on me. He pretended that their neighbors could have sold this land. "I did not know that. . . . It is true," says he, "that it was wrong to get their names thus," and then, "Come to see me at my house, and I shall inform you about the whole business." I prefer not to be informed, and I have no leisure. After all this it was wonderful the way we politely said good-bye. I remained there almost two weeks longer, but I did not see him again.

The outward symptoms are these: the American invaders, who were once proud and arrogant, have for some time been very gentle. Some are moving away: yesterday one of them offered to sell me his cow; he had to go away today. They inquire whether the savages will at least pay for their labor. And finally our accusers were fishing in the lake the other day, and they sent us their fish by the savages, not daring to bring them themselves, but wishing to become reconciled. Moreover, prayer rises to heaven, and the salvation of numerous Christians will be greatly imperiled if injustice prevails here. I have put the Indians under the Holy Virgin's protection, and I do it again every day. August 15¹⁰ is the day set for them to know

⁹Amaziah Morgan.

¹⁰By July 26, Petit had given up hope. See his letter to Bruté, *post*, pp. 81-87.

the final decision; on this feast of the Virgin I am hoping for the end of their troubles.

Here I am again at the end of my paper, and I do not have space to express to my Bishop properly the respectful homage of his son and priest.

B. PETIT

M. de la Hailandière is good enough to tell me of a desire to see me at Vincennes; I have sometimes thought about this, but I have been so busy that I hesitate to undertake a trip of 580 miles except for absolute necessity. It may be, however, that I can do it later, about September, perhaps, to go fetch some of my belongings. I would do it with a savage, carrying a tent, and without great expense. Perhaps I shall not do it either; they count the days of my absence too painfully.

I should like very much to be able to sell Tom,¹¹ and with the money I could buy a pair of oxen and a plow for the land belonging to the Indians. It may be, however, that I should take him along myself; he is good and strong for labor. We shall see later.

Could you take in a young Indian at Vincennes for the winter? He is eighteen years old, pious as an angel, speaks, reads, and writes English; I intend him to be a schoolmaster, and he will do much good, but I should like very much for him to perfect himself a little more, and work with your gentlemen.

I intended, Monseigneur, to ask you for M. Deseille's Billuart for the collection of payments for Masses. If you prefer to keep it for yourself, I do not absolutely insist upon it; still, I should like to have it.

During the next two weeks I am going to rest a little; I need to, for I have not had a moment since Easter.

Please pray for us.

My respects to everyone, priests and laymen.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Doctor Bruté Catholic Bishop of Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana

¹¹His horse, which died a few days later.

PETIT TO HIS FAMILY, July 9, 1838

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 392-93]

As long as the savages stay in Indiana, I think, I shall be their missionary. God, by means of a grace which He grants more to their piety than to my solicitude, gave me the power today to dispense with an interpreter for confession and ordinary conversation. I am greatly astonished to hear myself speak Indian with them. Although I have had no leisure to study their language, they listen to me and understand me well. Ah, I am beginning now especially, in this sudden flowering, to perceive all the beauty of these new souls! Their attachment for me, and mine for them, is much stronger today than ever. But meanwhile the moment is coming when, I fear, I shall see the mission's destruction. From time to time a ray of hope gives my heart a passing serenity. I entrust everything, however, to God's hands—He knows best what is good for us.

I feel a singular attachment for everything which concerns the savages. When I travel in the woods, if I see an Indian cabin, even an abandoned camp site, I feel my heart beat with joy. If I discover some Indians walking along my path, all my fatigue is forgotten. And when their smiles greet me from afar (for all, or nearly all, of them know me, and even those who have not been baptized call me their father), I am refreshed as if my own family were welcoming me. When I am on a mission among the whites, my Potawatomi worriedly count the days of my absence, and I too consider the occasion of my arrival at Chichipé Outipé as a feast day. What joy, what handshakes, what blessings before and after evening prayer! And then, when darkness comes, they no longer can leave my wigwam—they seem to be nailed there.

Ah, if I were free, when they go to Mississippi, they would not go without a priest! . . .

I have had the good fortune since Easter of baptizing 102 infidels among them, and I have counted 434 communions. Indeed there are some Protestants, too, on the road to conversion, but their number is small. I have so little time and so much to do among the savages, and my white congregations are so far from giving me the same happiness as my poor redskins!

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, July 26, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA¹²]

CHICHIPIÉ OUTIPÉ, 26 July, 1838

MONSEIGNEUR,

First, to give you a report of the trip to Washington: it was useless. "I do not wish to speak of it," said the President. "Your names are on the treaty; your lands are lost," said the Secretary of War. "But here is one of the witnesses to the treaty who will show you how everything was a fraud." "I do not need to be shown, and we did not need your signatures: the great chiefs of the nation were entitled to sell your reserve."

Second, the lawyers admit that the case cannot be pleaded before the Federal Court because the government refuses to become a party and no jury is possible. The land is lost, and without recourse, I believe.

Our position is still painful, today more than ever, but God protects us. They are carrying the emigration forward, and with a perseverance and tenacity to which a large number of Indians will yield, although there will always remain a certain number among the old who refuse to hear of going there.¹³ They still have some lands here and there, and later, perhaps, we shall see what should be done.

At the council held for the emigration the first chief arose, interrupting the savage interpreter, seized the agent's hand, and said to him: "Look here, Father; our lands belong to us. We shall keep them; we do not wish to talk to you any more."¹⁴

¹²The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

¹³Abel C. Pepper, superintendent, and other emigration officials held a council at Menominee's Reserve on July 17 and 18. Pepper warned the Indians that their refusal to remove would be a clear violation of the treaty obligation entered into with the President, and would oblige the use of force against them. Pepper's speech, and a reply made for the Potawatomi by "Sango-aw," reiterating the refusal of the chiefs to move, are printed in the *Logansport Telegraph* of July 21, 1838, p. 2, c. 1-4.

¹⁴Menominee is probably referred to here, although he is not mentioned in the account of the council given in the *Logansport Telegraph*, *loc. cit.* McDonald (*History of Marshall County*, I, 21) quotes a bystander's version of a speech made by Menominee that fits the circumstances: "Members of the Council: The President does not know the truth. He, like me, has been imposed upon. He does not know that your treaty is a lie, and that I never

This was taken as an insult to the President, and a report was made asking for authorization to use force if they refused to leave their lands. But there will be no occasion for this, as they have no idea of resistance.

An assistant agent¹⁵ wrote me a letter in which he held me responsible for the Indians' conduct. I replied to him immediately, I wrote to his superior, and I announced my intention of making a complaint to Washington. Lo and behold! the day before yesterday the assistant agent came into my tent, seven or eight miles from here¹⁶ (after having inquired whether I was not too angry), and told me he had written on the spur of the moment, without reflecting. I made him admit the untruth and impropriety of his letter, and he declared his desire for a reconciliation with me.

Everyone seems full of consideration for me, but I know they are full of suspicion. The assistant agent said he wanted me to depart with the Indians: the government, everybody, will be delighted if I do it. I should not, I tell them, have any personal objection, but I am answerable to my Bishop, and he has few priests in an enormous diocese.

Such is our present situation; here is my personal one: body tired but in good health, spirit troubled, heart suffering from anxiety and yet calm enough for complete submission. I trust signed it. He does not know that you made my young chiefs drunk and got their consent and pretended to get mine. He does not know that I have refused to sell my lands and still refuse. He would not by force drive me from my home, the graves of my tribe, and my children who have gone to the Great Spirit, nor allow you to tell me your braves will take me, tied like a dog, if he knew the truth. My brothers, the President is just, but he listens to the word of the young chiefs who have lied; and when he knows the truth he will leave me to my own. I have not sold my lands. I will not sell them. I have not signed any treaty, and will not sign any. I am not going to leave my lands, and I don't want to hear anything more about it."

The La Porte *Herald*, quoted in the Logansport *Herald* of August 16, 1838, p. 2, c. 5, attacked Menominee's position on the grounds that (1) the lands had been granted in the first place to his band and not to him as an individual; (2) he was not a Potawatomi and not entitled to rank as chief; (3) he had consented in 1834 to sell part of the reserve at half the price agreed upon in the treaty of 1836.

¹⁵Probably Amaziah Morgan.

¹⁶Petit was traveling in the neighborhood at this time. See *post*, p. 128.

wholly in my all-powerful Lord. If a large number of Christians depart, I should like to be able to follow them, at least until I can place them in the hands of another pastor. Why? Because they depart alone, recent Christians, for the most part hardly steadfast yet, thrust amidst Protestant corruptions which have pulpits everywhere in the place of exile destined for them; in a little while they will lose the fruit of M. Deseille's very great labors. Because if our brothers in France know they departed for exile without a priest's offering to accompany them, they will be surprised, and the fact will be unique in the history of missions. Because I know my presence would be their protection during the journey, for I have learned indirectly that the management of the Indians would be entrusted to me, as the agents recognize that their power is as nothing in comparison with the priest's influence; until now they have been driven like dogs on these journeys, and they arrived down there broken-hearted and dispirited from mistreatment on the way; it would be fine to see religion with maternal tenderness protecting and consoling these new-born children, so worthy of sympathy and so unfortunate if abandoned. Because the diocese would lose nothing by it: I should return perhaps within a year, as soon as I could place my children, my tender children, in safe hands. Because the time will not be wasted as far as I am concerned, since the fatigues of charity offered to God have value through Jesus Christ. Because in the immense territory on the left bank of the Mississippi which has been opened to the missions it would be of great importance to have a fully developed mission for a base, and by going I could get advantageous concessions from the government for this settlement, which may prosper greatly through His future favor. Because my Bishop could not refuse me this without reducing these poor children to the plight of exposed infants whom Providence, it is true, can save but who, humanly speaking, are completely destitute of aid. Because a good father would not do such a thing, and my Bishop is a good father. Those are many of the reasons for my request; there are still many more.

On the other hand they do not wish to depart, and the government intends to force them to abandon only their re-

serve; they still have private lands and can settle on them. Like others they will be subject to and protected by the law. But I should not like to take upon myself the responsibility for any decision on their part. I suspect the promises to be fulfilled on the other side of the river; the slight dependability hitherto shown is a poor guarantee. On the other hand, dispersed among the whites, they will, I think, be very unhappy for a while. But they have such an aversion to going there, that to speak of it is to expose myself to the loss of their confidence. I want always to leave them to themselves regarding this, but, whatever their decision, religion ought if possible to protect them. Such is my position; I wait, hope, and pray. Here or at the Mississippi, it is absolutely the same to me; let my Lord speak a word—that is all.

If by chance the agents write to you, please keep in mind when replying the possibility of inquiring, before a definite decision pro or con is made, about new developments, new motives. I wish to go only with the majority, and I should not want my departure to be the reason for their decision.

Others have the satisfaction of reporting to you that, as a result of their labors, new churches arise amidst their congregations, but I, remote indeed from this happiness, will within a few days destroy this church whence so many fervid prayers rose to Heaven—this altar where hitherto I have so many times received my Savior and around which I have so often seen such a large number of these good Indians crowded together to receive their Lord.

No pre-emption for us: our improvements are anterior to the extinction of the savages' title. The site of the mission has been pre-empted, and on August 5 an American will take possession of the house I occupy there.¹⁷ I should not like to

¹⁷The pre-emption law of June 22, 1838, governing the right of pre-emption on the lands sold by the Indians by the treaties of 1836, denied "a right of pre-emption to any person or persons, in consequence of any settlement or improvement made before the extinguishment of the Indian title to the land on which such settlement or improvement was made. . . ." U. S. *Statutes at Large*, V, 251-52. The chapel at the Yellow River had been erected in 1835 and no pre-emption claim could be made for it. The Potawatomi of the Yellow River reserve and at the reserve at Chechaukkose's Village on the Tippecanoe had both granted land to the Church (*ante*, p.

see the church in their hands: they will, perhaps, make a stable of the house of God. I think we shall destroy it, except in the event of opposition.

At first I was troubled by your memorial to Washington¹⁸ by which, without knowing where we stood in the case, you interfered in its progress with a step against the spirit of neutrality which I observed by your order—a step likely to cast on the Catholic clergy the suspicion (which you say exists at Washington) of our influencing the Potawatomi to remain. At first I thought I saw a lack of ordinary prudence in this. But God can resolve all: I entrusted all to Him. At first, however, I was dismayed and unhappy, I confess.

The good Lord has taken away my horse, fine, young, vigorous, and living freely in the woods. Having gone from 11 o'clock till 7 or 8 in the evening without grain, he died. I shall try to get another, but I shall replace him with difficulty.

When you read this letter, I pray our Lord will make you understand it in the sense He desires for His greatest glory and my children's salvation. "To sacrifice you to the savages, a new pardon from your family would be necessary." No, Monseigneur, they have given me to God entirely, and for

16), but the transfers were not recognized by the government. The Attorney General had ruled on September 20, 1833, that the lands reserved to the Indians were still under the original title, that the Indian occupants could not convey them to individuals, and that no valid cession could be made by them except to the United States. *Opinions of the Attorney General of the United States*, 1789-1841, p. 1402.

¹⁸On June 25, Bruté wrote to Commissioner Carey A. Harris, pleading for justice to the Indians and recounting the labors of Petit and his predecessors among the Indians. Bruté's letter was forwarded by John Law in a note of June 27, lauding the mission and pointing out that it had been carried on at the expense of the Bishop, the annual allowance of \$300 appropriated by the government for the civilization of the Indiana Indians on April 19, 1836, having been paid only once (*ante*, p. 22). Harris answered Law on August 2, 1838: "The information, that has reached this office from its agents shows that M. Deseille exerted himself on several occasions to dissuade the Indians from removing, as measures then and now believed to be for their benefit, and more recent advices impute similar proceedings to his successor [Father Benjamin Petit]. For this reason, and for that also of their probably speedy emigration, it is deemed improper to continue the allowance from the civilization fund." "Documents," *Mid-America*, XV, 189-91.

them as for me it does not matter whether I am here or there. They would not understand why I should abandon my children thus, and if they read of this mission's destruction and the Christians' exile in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,¹⁹ each will ask with astonishment: "Just where has their priest gone? Why are there no priests with them?" That would be unusual, Monseigneur, in the annals of missions; the Church has always given a consoler for the sufferings of her children. You shall decide, Monseigneur, but I must tell you what is in my heart: there it is. Let it all be arranged, rectified, or changed by my Bishop's hand, which for me is God's hand.

Your benediction, Monseigneur, on us all, your Indians and your priest, respectful and submissive in Jesus Christ and Mary,
B. PETIT, Ptre. Mre.

In the last letter I received from France I was informed of Mlle. Camille's vows and F. M. Villeneuve's marriage to a Demoiselle Pauline du Modage: I think this will be a good Christian household.

My respects to M. de la Hailandière, if it is not too presumptuous to give you commissions, Monseigneur, as well as to the other gentlemen. I heard that you have had some new ordinations and that M. de la Hailandière had been to Chicago (I heard this from M. François); Chicago is not very far from South Bend.

M. Mueller is vexed at something I am supposed to have done in his territory. First, I did not do what he was told I did; second, I did not know it was his parish; I shall avoid going there henceforth. It is all about a funeral sermon I preached near Leesburg; I shall apologize fully and peace will be restored.

My mother, brothers, and relatives in France send you their homage, Monseigneur, and their respects to M. de la Hailandière. I would consider going to see you, but affairs are so upset here that in the press of the moment I probably cannot. All is for God.

¹⁹The organ of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith founded in Lyons, in 1822, as "an endeavor to enlist the sympathy of all Catholics and assist all missions, without regard to situation and nationality." The Society was the chief source of support of the American missions. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI (1911), 461-63.

What of Du Merle? My heart thinks quite often of him; he was my brother in America, Monseigneur. Sometimes I have a mind to write to him, but there is no time.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana.

PETIT TO ABEL C. PEPPER, July 31, 1838

[IO: Letters Received, Potawatomi—C]

Copy MENOMINIES RESERVE 31. July 1838.
SIR,

Agreeably to your letter dated July 28. 1838.²⁰ I made communication to the Indians of the information you were kind enough to give me, of the determination of the Executive of the State, to furnish promptly a military force to protect the preemptioners exercising their rights under the laws of congress.—They have expressed unanimously and in the strongest terms their determination of offering no resistance. I knew that such was their disposition, but I wanted to renew it in communicating to them your letter.—I think now I can give you the assurance, that no disturbance from the Indians need be apprehended, and that the settlers can take possession of their preemptions peaceably, and without the assistance of a Military force, the presence of which would only be fit to create excitement & disorder.—

I take also this opportunity to inform you that Menominee is very sorry for the words which escaped from his lips on the day of the Council; he did not know the import thereof, and is ready to offer you an apology for it, at the next Council.—²¹

I am, Sir, Very respectfully, Your obt. Srvt

B. PETIT

²⁰This letter has not been found.

²¹Petit's optimism was not justified. On August 4 he held his last service in the chapel and dismantled it. The next day a settler took possession of house and church, and Petit left for South Bend. On August 7 Pepper held a council with the Indians; they apologized for bad behavior at the last council, and Pepper had a brief hope that peace could be maintained, but there was soon trouble between the Indians and incoming whites, insistent on their pre-emption rights, who settled on almost every quarter section on which the Indians lived. Emigration officials, alarmed at the explosive situation, implored John Tipton, former Indian agent and still influential

TO COL. PEPPER

I will leave the reserve with Miss Campau this very week.—

PETIT TO JOHN TIPTON, September 3, 1838

[ISL: Tipton Papers—ALS²²]

SOUTH BEND 3^d. 7^{ber} 1838

TO THE HONOURABLE GENERAL TIPTON

GENERAL I Received yesterday your letter dated 2^d 7^{ber}, to which I give to day the answer which you requested me to give you²³ It is not the least of the world in my power to satisfy those whom you call *the dissentients*, and to harmonise the whole matter, because it is not let to my choice to go, or not to go West. I am under the dependance of my Bishop and at his disposal, as much *at least* as any soldier of your troops is at

with the Indians, to lend his help in persuading them to move. On August 11 he attended a council near Plymouth, but was unable to break down the opposition of the chiefs. Between August 15 and 20 a settler's cabin was damaged and ten or twelve Indian homes were burned. Citizens of Marshall County and Colonel Pepper urged Governor Wallace to send an armed force to prevent violence. He visited the reserve, and on August 27 authorized Tipton to enroll one hundred volunteers. Three days later Tipton had assembled his forces and stationed them in five detachments surrounding the chapel at some distance. The Indians, in council with Colonel Pepper, were taken by surprise and were not allowed to leave or separate. Another council was held next day, at which Menominee, Black Wolf, and Peepenawah still declined removing. These chiefs and one other, probably Notawkah, were placed under guard in the chapel. *Journal, post*, p. 128; George W. Ewing to Tipton, August 8, 1838, Abel C. Pepper to Tipton, August 8, 1838, William Polke to Tipton, August 8, 1838, in Tipton Papers; Governor Wallace's annual message, December 4, 1838, and his correspondence with Tipton and Pepper, August 26-31, 1838, in *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, pp. 713-18; Tipton to Wallace, September 18, 1838, *ibid.*, p. 728; Tipton's General Order, August 29, 1838, in *Logansport Herald*, November 8, 1838, p. 2, c. 4; *Logansport Telegraph*, September 15, 1838, p. 2, c. 1.

²²Printed in *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, pp. 722-23.

²³An attack of fever had kept Petit at South Bend until this time. Tipton, knowing the young priest's great influence with Menominee and the other Catholic Indians, and anxious to execute the removal without violence, appealed to him by letter to persuade "the dissentients" to go peaceably. *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, p. 722. He repeated the promise of the government to defray expenses of the emigration, give each Indian a half section of land, and provide for their support for one year. As a further inducement to secure Petit's aid, he promised to recommend to the President that funds be provided for a chapel and house for Petit or any other priest who might accompany the Indians. Petit drafted a scathing answer (the

your disposal; I wrote to him for the subject of being allowed to follow the Indians, in the case, that most of them would be willing to emigrate; I received a full denial of my request; of course I must not think any more of going West.

[Was I at liberty to go or not to go, though I had no personal objection, in the case the indians would be willing to go, it would be repugnant and hard to me to associate in any way to the unaccountable measures lately taken for the removal of the Indians. You had right perhaps, if duly authorised, to take possession of the land, but to make from free men slaves, no man can take upon himself to do so in this free country. Those who wish to move must be *moved*, those who want to remain must be left to themselves. Col. Pepper, in the name of the president, spoke several times in that way, and he said that by the 5th of August those who want to remain, would be submitted to the law of the country. Of course it is against men under the protection of the law, that you act in such a dictatorial manner; it is impossible for me, and for many to conceive how such events may take place in this country of liberty. I have consecrated my whole life, my whole powers to the good of my neighbours, but as to associate to any violence against them, even if it were at my own disposal, I cannot find in me strength enough to do so. May God protect them, and me, against the numerous misrepresentations which are made, both of them and of me.]

I am sorry, General, not to be able to comply any further with your wishes.

your most obedient Servant

B: PETIT ptre Mre.

draft is in the Chancery Office, Indianapolis), but omitted in the letter that he sent the paragraph printed here in brackets. Tipton meanwhile proceeded as expeditiously as possible with his ugly task. By the evening of September 2 over seven hundred Indians had been rounded up by the soldiers and enrolled. On the morning of September 4 the encampment was leveled and the march began, with rebellious chiefs "immured" in a sort of cage that followed the flag. *Logansport Herald*, October 25, 1838. For accounts of the rounding up of the Indians, see *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, pp. 718 ff.; Tipton to Carey A. Harris, September 2 and 5, 1838, photostats in Tipton Papers; McDonald, *History of Marshall County*, I, 24-25, 30-33. The emigrating party by this time numbered 859. It was estimated that only 150 Potawatomi were left in Indiana. Abel C. Pepper to Carey A. Harris, September 6, 1838, photostat in Tipton Papers.

PETIT TO WILLIAM POLKE, September 8, 1838

[IO: Letters Received, Potawatomi—C]

LOGANSFORT, 8th Sept. 1838

SIR:

I have on this day received permission of the Right Reverend Bishop to accompany the Indian Emigration West;²⁴ on condition of you guaranteeing the performing the propositions contained in the letter of Gen. J. Tipton addressed to me on the 2nd instant.

I am, Sir, your most Respectful servant,

B. PETIT.

PETIT TO HIS FAMILY, September 14, 1838

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 393-96]

One morning²⁵ . . . I said Mass. Then my dear church was stripped of all its ornaments, and at the moment of my departure I called all my children together. I spoke to them one more time; I wept; my listeners sobbed. It was heart-rending. We, the dying mission, prayed for the success of other missions, and we sang with one accord:

In thy protection do we trust,
O Virgin, meek and mild.

The voice which intoned was stifled by sobs, and only a few were able to finish. I left. It is sad, I assure you, for a missionary to see such a young and vigorous work expire in his arms. A few days afterward I learned that the Indians, despite their peaceable disposition, had been surprised and

²⁴See Petit to his family, *post*, p. 92, and Journal, *post*, p. 129. Said the Logansport *Telegraph* of September 8, 1838: "The Rev. Mr. Petit, who has been with them for some time past and who has already succeeded in teaching them some of the arts of civilization by which their condition has been much improved, will accompany them. This gentleman, who has deservedly gained their esteem, and whose remaining was one of the principal obstacles to their removing, has, by consenting to go, given them additional proofs of his regard for their welfare, and he has also rendered himself worthy of the notice of the government. There is already a visible change in the feelings of the Indians, and many who were averse to going west now express a willingness to go."

²⁵August 4. See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 128.

taken prisoners of war. The military force, pretending to hold a council, assembled them and seized eight hundred. At the same time the government invited me to accompany them to the country destined for them, separation from their priest being one of the reasons which kept the Indians from consenting to their exile. I replied that, being under my Bishop's orders, I could not do anything without his permission. He had refused, in order to avoid all suspicion of the ecclesiastical authority's connivance with the civil power's rigorous measures.

Providence wonderfully orders all things. It willed that Monseigneur should have to consecrate the Logansport church.²⁶ The ceremony was fixed for September 9, and on the 7th the Indians were to camp a quarter of a league from Logansport on their road to exile. One morning, September 5, Monseigneur, returning from Chicago, entered my room at South Bend: "My son, in an hour we depart for Logansport." And he lavished all the consolations in the soul of a father upon me. I was as calm as a man who is stilled by a crushing burden. We departed.

We learned that the Indians on the way, with bayonets prodding their backs,²⁷ had a large number of sick in their ranks—that several, crammed into baggage wagons, had al-

²⁶A small stone church on Duret Street, built through the efforts of Father François. It remained in use until 1860. Thomas B. Helm, *History of Cass County Indiana* (Chicago, 1886), p. 436; Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 365.

²⁷The Logansport *Telegraph* (September 8, 1838, p. 2, c. 1) denied this. "It has been reported that the Indians were maltreated on their journey—that they were forced to make long marches when it was not necessary—that they were not suffered to get water on the road—and that the order of Gen. Tipton was to drive them along at the point of the bayonet, if necessary.—These reports, we believe are all unfounded, as they have been contradicted by those who were present, and in whose word we can place implicit confidence." According to the Journal of the emigration there was a scarcity of water in the country, and the watering places determined the length of the marches. "Journal of the Emigrating Party of Pottawattomie Indians, 1838," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI (1925), 317-18. The "Journal" as printed in the *Magazine*, is attributed to William Polke, although the entries to and including September 16 were made by Tipton. See *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, p. 727.

ready died of heat and thirst.²⁸ These pieces of news were like so many swords piercing my heart.

Finally, on the morning of the 7th, Monseigneur gave me permission to follow the emigrants, on condition that I return at the first order, or at the moment another missionary should come to replace me. I went to look after my children. I did not think at first that I could enter the camp without authorization. They all came out, approaching me to receive my blessing. The Americans, drawn up in a line, showed the greatest astonishment. "This man," said the General,²⁹ "has more power here than I." I was permitted to come and go everywhere. Smiles reappeared amidst the desolation of exile—once more the family was together.

Sunday, September 9, Monseigneur consecrated the Logansport church. I officiated at the camp. In the afternoon Monseigneur came there and confirmed about twenty of my good savages.³⁰ That day was a wonderful triumph for the

²⁸On Sunday, September 9, physicians visited the emigrating party in camp near Logansport and found about 300 of the 850 sick. A "kind of Medical hospital" was erected, and all but 21, sick and attendants, took up the march on the tenth. Five children had died by the evening of September 9. "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 317-18.

²⁹Probably General Tipton. Tipton later wrote to Wallace that Petit had "produced a very favorable change in the morals and industry of the Indians," and that his untiring zeal in the cause of civilization would be "eminently beneficial" to the Potawatomi in their new home. *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, p. 727.

³⁰Bruté sent a report of the event to the *Annales* which is quoted in Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur* (pp. 365-66): "In the afternoon I myself visited the good Indians. A crowd of people composed of Catholics and Protestants from the city, was in attendance and no one grew tired of admiring the spirit of recollection and resignation of those true Christians. As I approached, Mr. Petit came first and knelt for the blessing, then all received it kneeling on the road that led to the tent. Following this ceremony they took their places very orderly and some with books and others by heart, sang Vespers in the Ottawa language. I recited the Oration and delivered a sermon which a young interpreter translated with great intelligence and piety. Then they intoned the *Veni Creator* in Ottawa and after the first verse I proceeded to administer the sacrament of Confirmation. The confirmed numbered twenty. How much did we regret that so many were deprived of the same grace owing to their early departure. I closed the services by giving Benediction. Then whilst we recited the rosary in common I accompanied Mr. Petit into the tents of the sick, where one received Extreme Unction and another received Baptism; both died that night."

Catholic Faith: the whole town was in camp, astonished at the Indians and edified by their piety. The American newspapers mentioned it, and everywhere people read with emotion of the wonderful sight of this congregation assembled on mats before an improvised altar under a great tree.

The next day I left to get my things at South Bend, and here I am today making the journey of six hundred miles to the other side of the Mississippi to establish a more durable mission among the savages, whom I am afterwards to leave in the hands of the Jesuit fathers. Pray much that, in this remote quest, the good God will sustain me and not allow me to stumble.

PETIT TO JOHN TIPTON, September 17, 1838

[*Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, p. 728]

DANVILLE, 17th Sept. 1838.

TO HIS HONOR, GENERAL JOHN TIPTON:

GENERAL—According to our arrangements, I joined the party of the Pottawattamies emigrating west of the Mississippi, to accompany them to their new homes. I inform you anew to day that I accede to your proposals.

Your respectful and humble servant,

B. PETIT.

PETIT TO BISHOP ROSATI, September 19, 1838

[Catholic Historical Society of Indiana, *Bulletin No. 2*, p. 7
(December, 1927)³¹]

SANDUSKYE CAMP NEAR DANVILLE

19 7bre, 1838

MONSEIGNEUR:

Last year Monseigneur Bruté sent me to the Pottowatomie Indians to replace Monsieur De Seilles whose death left them orphans; that mission, in full vigor and growth was about to be destroyed in Indiana by the policy of the government which seeks to unite all the Indians on the other side of the Mississippi.

³¹The original of this letter is in the Diocesan Archives, St. Louis, Missouri.

As a great many of these very fervent and pious Christians were going to emigrate at the same time, Monseigneur Bruté permitted me to accompany them to their new settlement so that I may re-establish their church and their mission; as Vicar-General of your Diocese, he has given me temporarily the faculties and jurisdiction which are necessary; today, Monseigneur, I am asking Your Lordship to confirm these faculties, if you find it convenient.³²

An emigrant mission, complete in every way, (like a nucleus, entirely ready for the attachment of great hopes of the future) is worthy of the attention of Your Lordship and of those Jesuit Fathers who are especially charged with the Indian Missions.

I am not coming to establish a mission in the midst of the good Indians for myself, although I am attached to them with all the affection of my priestly heart (they are my first mission); I am coming solely to hold this mission together (so that these precious souls may not be lost) until I shall be able to place in your hands or in the hands of the Society of Jesus this infant mission to which I would gladly consecrate my life, if obedience, which is a happiness for a priest, did not call me for another work on the mission for which, indeed I have a far less natural inclination.

The limit fixed by my bishop for my return is next March. Before that time, Monseigneur, I beg you by all that God knows of the simplicity and the sincere piety, of the fervor and the zeal and the good will in the hearts of your new subjects to arrange to send us a priest so that these Christians, so eager for the reception of the Sacraments which so many others neglect, may not die of exhaustion, like abandoned children, deprived of the heavenly nourishment in which their souls find so many delights.

Your Lordship knows so much better than I can tell you how important it is for the subsequent development of the In-

³²The diocese of St. Louis, of which Joseph Rosati was Bishop, extended from the southern bounds of Arkansas to a line drawn northward from Fort Massac, Illinois, near Cairo, to the southern bounds of Canada, thence westward to the Rocky Mountains, following them southward to the latitude of the southern boundary of Arkansas and eastward. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 2.

dian missions not to let them disperse and perish by the abandonment of that christianity fully developed which Providence sends today into the midst of the nearby Indians.

Our trip is a harsh experience; we have much sickness;³³ two of the Indians were buried today. Monseigneur, please pray God to sustain us and to bless the christian resignation of these good Indians deprived by force of their fatherland and of all their notions of blessing, the Faith excepted.

Accept, Monseigneur, the assurance of profound respect and of the humble submission in Jesus Christ.

Of your most respectful servant

B. PETIT
ptre. mre.

P. S. The migration will likely cross the Mississippi at Quincy and our destination is the Osage River.

PETIT TO FATHER FRANÇOIS, September 23, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA³⁴]

32 MILES WEST OF DANVILLE³⁵ 23 September, 1838

MONSIEUR AND DEAR FRIEND,

After these last few days of traveling I am indeed glad to have this opportunity of informing you of everything concerning us since I joined the emigration at Danville.

³³The physicians attending the sick reported on September 18 that there were 67 sick, 47 of whom suffered from intermittent fever, and that out of the whole number 8 appeared dangerously ill. This was an improvement from the thirteenth, when 106 cases of sickness had been recorded. "The whole country through which we pass appears to be afflicted—," reads the "Journal" entry for September 16; "every town, village, and hamlet has its invalids. . . . It is worthy of remark, perhaps, that such a season for sickness in this country is almost unparalleled. In the little town, adjoining which we are encamped, containing a population of from eight hundred to a thousand four persons died yesterday." By the evening of the nineteenth, seventeen Indians were reported to have died since the emigration began. "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 316-21.

³⁴The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

³⁵According to the "Journal," the party camped the night of September 22 at Sidoris' Grove, having traveled forty-four miles since leaving Danville. The night of the twenty-third was spent at Pyatt's Point on the Sangamon River, fifteen miles further on. *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 321-28.

A dozen have died,³⁶ among them several Indians who were baptized *in articulo mortis*; exterior alleviation was given to the others, almost the entire band. Today we were better treated because of a kind of authority given me which I accepted and am using for their good.

It is indeed far from my intention to find anything to regret in Monseigneur's decision regarding me; I think I am where I should be.

From time to time I can say Holy Mass; soon I shall have my tent all to myself and even be able to hear confession.

When we encamp I am entrusted with the sick and assigned to the doctor as interpreter.³⁷ On the march I have general supervision over all and decide upon whatever can be alleviating.

If you can obtain a few days from Monseigneur to visit Pokagon, it would be the most deserving of your missions. I fear they are bewildered; you would find Mousse³⁸ there. Tell him or write to him that I obtained permission to leave his baggage at Danville, but his son did not know where he was, and the heavy expenses of transportation made us decide that the cost would exceed the value of the contents. He will be paid for his oxen at the Mississippi; I shall send him the money.

Respects to everyone. Enclose this letter to Monseigneur, if you please. I have seen nothing of M. Buteaux, to whom I wanted to hand it.

I have no more time. Adieu; pray for me.

Your brother and servant in Jesus Christ,

B. PETIT

Ptre. Mre.

³⁶The "Journal" records twelve deaths from the seventeenth to the evening of the twenty-third, bringing to twenty-four the total number of deaths since the beginning of the emigration. *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 321-23.

³⁷Petit was appointed an interpreter for the emigration on September 22, and received \$245 for his services. See his Journal, *post*, p. 131.

³⁸Alexander Mousse, a Catholic half-breed, had married a daughter of Pokagon. He acted as an interpreter for Father Stephen Badin and was with Father Deseille at his death. Buechner, *The Pokagons*, p. 298, and note.

[Addressed:] To the Revd. Mr. François Pastor of the Catholic Congregation at Logansport (Ina.)

[Endorsed by Father François:] M. Petit having had an opportunity to have this letter delivered to me, he asks me to send it Your Reverence. My situation is very variable, sometimes good, sometimes bad. Each evening I have had to journey all I could; I am falling ill again. . . ."

[Postmarked, François to Bruté, September 30, 1838.]

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, November 13, 1838

[Translated from *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 400-8]

OSAGE RIVER, INDIAN COUNTRY,
November 13, 1838

MONSEIGNEUR,

According to the promise which you exacted from me at Logansport when I received your parting benediction, I have now to give Your Reverence an account of our long and painful journey.

The day you left for Bardstown, where the consecration of a new bishop for our America called you,³⁹ I started for South Bend, where I had to get the little baggage I needed. While I was awaiting the public stage at the hotel, a traveler came up to me and presented me with a pencil sketch which seemed to me a good one and which represented the confirmation ceremony at the camp, the altar at the foot of the great tree, the linen tapestries, Monseigneur, M. Mueller and me, our young interpreter, and all the Indians, with their grave, pious solemn demeanor. I was asked several questions about the Indians' language, habits, and traditions.

I departed. I arrived at South Bend on the 11th [September], about noon. At once I began preparations for traveling, and I devoted part of the evening to hearing the confessions of several sick people who had asked for me—among them was the old mother of Black Wolf (Makkahtahmoway), one of the chiefs. The poor woman had been so much frightened

³⁹Father Richard P. Miles was consecrated first Bishop of Nashville in the Cathedral of Bardstown, Kentucky, on September 16, 1838. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 366.

by a discharge of musketry ordered by General Tipton when he arrested the savages—who were in council—that she buried herself in the woods and remained hidden there for six days without taking nourishment. Finally she found a dead pheasant and ate it. She had received a terrible wound in her foot and could no longer walk. Fortunately a savage who was looking for his horses, having noticed something moving in the bushes, ran in that direction and found the poor fugitive. He put her on his horse and transported her safely to a Frenchman's house near South Bend, where I heard her confession.

The next morning I started out again for Logansport. I intended to rejoin the emigrants at Lafayette at least, but they marched so quickly that I did not see my Indians again until Danville.

They were walking on the right bank of the river,⁴⁰ and the line of wagons continued on the left. I tried several times to rent a private carriage to take my baggage and me to Danville—this was in vain. Finally I had to go as far as Perrysville, where, leaving my luggage behind, I took advantage of the kindness of a Catholic, M. Young, who offered me one of his horses and accompanied me to Danville with some other persons who were drawn by curiosity.

It was Sunday, September 16. I had only just arrived when a colonel,⁴¹ seeking a favorable place to encamp, appeared. Soon afterward I saw my poor Christians, under a burning noonday sun, amidst clouds of dust, marching in a line, surrounded by soldiers who were hurrying their steps. Next came the baggage wagons, in which numerous invalids, children, and women, too weak to walk, were crammed. They encamped half a mile from the town, and in a short while I went among them.

I found the camp just as you saw it, Monseigneur, at Logansport—a scene of desolation, with sick and dying people

⁴⁰The Wabash. The expedition crossed the river at Williamsport on the fifteenth. Article from *Terre Haute Courier* reprinted in *Niles' National Register*, October 6, 1838, No. 6, p. 88, c. 1-2.

⁴¹Perhaps Colonel J. R. M. Bryant, Tipton's aide-de-camp. Tipton to Governor Wallace, September 18, 1838, in *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, pp. 727-30.

on all sides. Nearly all the children, weakened by the heat, had fallen into a state of complete languor and depression. I baptized several who were newly born—happy Christians, who with their first step passed from earthly exile to the heavenly sojourn.

The General, to whom I introduced myself, expressed his satisfaction at seeing me, and, with a condescension I did not expect, he arose from his chair, which was the only one there, and offered it to me. That night was the first I passed in a tent.

Early the next morning they heaped the Indians into the baggage wagons, and everybody mounted. At our departure Judge Polke, chief conductor, came to present me with a horse which the government had procured from an Indian for my use along the way. At the same time the Indian approached me and said: "My father, I give it to you, saddled and bridled."

We departed for the next encampment, where several days' rest was granted us. On my word the six chiefs⁴² who had till now been treated as prisoners of war were released and given the same kind of freedom which the rest of the tribe enjoyed.

The order of march⁴³ was as follows: the United States flag, carried by a dragoon; then one of the principal officers, next the staff baggage carts, then the carriage, which during the whole trip was kept for the use of the Indian chiefs; then one or two chiefs on horseback led a line of 250 or 300 horses ridden by men, women, children in single file, after the manner of savages. On the flanks of the line at equal distance from each other were the dragoons and volunteers, hastening the stragglers, often with severe gestures and bitter words. After this cavalry came a file of forty baggage wagons filled with luggage and Indians. The sick were lying in them, rudely jolted, under a canvas which, far from protecting them from the dust and heat, only deprived them of air, for they were as if buried under this burning canopy—several died thus.

⁴²See *ante*, p. 89n.

⁴³The procession, according to the *Delphi Oracle* (September 15, 1838), was nearly three miles long.

We camped only six miles from Danville. There I had for two successive days⁴⁴ the happiness of celebrating Holy Mass among my good savage children. I administered to several who were dying and baptized a few more infants, and, when we quitted this camp two days later, we left behind six graves in the shadow of the cross. The General dismissed his little army there and himself departed from us⁴⁵—he had announced his intention of doing so shortly after my coming.

We soon found ourselves on the grand prairies of Illinois, under a burning sun and without shade from one camp to another. They are as vast as the ocean, and the eye seeks in vain for a tree. Not a drop of water can be found there—it was a veritable torture for our poor sick, some of whom died each day from weakness and fatigue.

Soon we began evening prayers together again, and the Americans, attracted by curiosity, were astonished to find so much piety in the midst of so many trials. Our evening exercises consisted of a chapter of the catechism, prayer, and the hymn,

“In thy protection do we trust,
O Virgin, meek and mild,”

which I intoned in Indian and which was repeated by the whole audience with a vigor which these new Christians bring to all their religious acts.

Often throughout the entire night, around a blazing fire, before a tent in which a solitary candle burned, fifteen or twenty Indians would sing hymns and tell their beads. One of their friends who had died was laid out in the tent; they performed the last religious rites for him in this way. The next morning the grave would be dug; the family, sad but tearless, stayed after the general departure; the priest, attired in his stole, recited prayers, blessed the grave, and cast the first shovelful of earth on the rude coffin; the pit was filled and a

⁴⁴The expedition reached Sandusky Point, six miles beyond Danville, on September 17, and remained there until the twentieth. “Journal,” *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 321.

⁴⁵Tipton returned to Logansport on the twentieth, leaving fifteen of his volunteers behind at Polke’s request to keep order and guard the camp at night. *Ibid.*, XXI, 321; Tipton to Governor Wallace, September 18, 1838, in *Indiana Senate Journal*, 1838-39, pp. 727-30.

little cross placed there. The curious inhabitants, for whom everything in the depths of these deserts is a spectacle, moved, despite their prejudices, by these poor yet imposing solemnities of the dead, would end by raising their hats, and the smile of scorn would turn to a sort of grave and religious astonishment.

Sunday mornings, when the lack of good water (more than once our horses refused to drink water which we had left) or some other motive forced us to continue the march, I was granted a two hours' delay.⁴⁶ The Indians would attend Holy Sacrifice, during which they astonished the ears of the spectators by singing hymns, some of which—for me at least—had a sweet harmony indeed. I preached briefly on the Gospel of the day, recommended that they tell their beads along the way—then I folded up my chapel, the tents were dismantled, and everybody mounted. Ordinarily we did not travel on Sunday—the Mass was then preceded by the morning prayer and the catechism, followed by the rosary. In the afternoon they would again assemble for the catechism. Vespers were sung in Indian, the rosary followed, then the evening prayer and a short sermon, which once or twice I allowed myself to pronounce without an interpreter—to the great delight of my listeners.

I could not help feeling elated on the way at the attentions of the Catholics. When we camped near a town where some lived, they would come to see me at our encampment, invite me to breakfast before our departure the next day, and indeed do all in their power to show their joy at seeing a priest. A few days' journey from the Illinois River I was stricken with fever. An old Frenchman came to the camp and made me promise, by the force of his pleading, to take a few days' rest at his home. The next morning he introduced his wife. He had brought his carriage to take me away, but the fear of again

⁴⁶On October 9, the chiefs requested that on Sundays the party remain in camp so that devotional exercises could be held. This was complied with on the three succeeding Sundays. On Sunday, November 4, provisions being scarce and the journey being so nearly completed, the party moved on after a two-hour devotional period. "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 327-34.

finding myself behind the emigration and the difficulties of rejoining it made me reply with a definite refusal.⁴⁷ We had hardly arrived at Naples, where we crossed the Illinois, than a Protestant, married to a French Catholic woman from Vincennes, learning that a sick priest was among the emigrants stationed there for two days, came to offer me his house.⁴⁸ I accepted, and, thanks to the care lavished on me, my fever was cut short.

I took the public stage at Naples and started in advance for Quincy in order to complete my cure by a few days' rest in that town. There I met a German priest, M. Brickwedde, and a German congregation, who received me with a welcome hard to imagine.⁴⁹ I was also well greeted by some American Catholics and by several of the town's richest Protestants, who offered me their hospitality.⁵⁰

When the Indians arrived at Quincy, the inhabitants, who compared this emigration with previous ones, could not help expressing their surprise at the modesty of our Christians, their calmness, and their general demeanor. A Catholic lady, accompanied by a Protestant friend, made the sign of the cross, symbolizing religious fraternity. Immediately the Indian women came up to shake their hands cordially; the savages never fail to do this when they encounter Catholics. The Protestant lady wanted to do as much and tried the sign of the cross, but, betrayed by her lack of practice, she could not succeed. At once an Indian, who knew some English, went up to her and said, "You nothing." It was true.

One day Judge Polke, our principal officer, introduced one of his friends, a Baptist minister. I was in my tent, surrounded as usual by Indians. He wanted to shake hands with

⁴⁷See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 129.

⁴⁸A. M. Craft. *Post*, p. 129.

⁴⁹Father Augustus Florentius Brickwedde was born in Hanover in 1805, and ordained a priest in the Cathedral of Hildesheim, September 20, 1830. He came to St. Louis in 1837, having heard of the great need for missionaries among the German colonists in America. Bishop Rosati sent him to Quincy to found a German parish—said to be the first national parish in the Mississippi Valley—where he remained until 1849. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 615-25.

⁵⁰See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 130.

the Indians, and I told them to approach—that he called himself their friend. Then, as if he must make a sensation, this minister, with that commanding enthusiasm in which his kind are never lacking, cried: “Ah, they are bone of my bone, flesh of my flesh! I truly feel here [putting his hand on his heart] that I love humankind. Young man, may God bless your labors among them—make them better than they are.” When he had gone, I told my Indians that he was a Protestant minister. At this all who had shaken hands with him replied with a grimace.

One evening I was waiting in my tent for evening-prayer time when two young men introduced themselves to me—they were compatriots recently arrived from France, and by the steamboat captain’s inadvertence they had been carried to Independence instead of New Orleans. They were now proceeding to their destination. These gentlemen spoke and understood very little English; this made their position difficult in this distant land. While passing along the road, they had seen our tents and fires. “Perhaps it is a fair,” they had said to each other, and, curious as all Frenchmen, they had come to see. Then, very much surprised to hear some halfbreeds conversing in French, they had spoken to them, and, learning there was a French priest here, they had themselves brought to me. I greeted them as well as possible. We spoke of our country; I invited them to supper, following which they attended public prayer with much edification. They went a little way off to retire. They were somewhat frightened by the state of the countryside, which was all in arms. The majority of the Protestants in the country had resolved to exterminate or at least expel certain sectarians called Mormons, who refused to submit to the tax and the public charges.⁵¹

⁵¹As early as 1831 the Mormons began establishing themselves in Jackson County, Missouri. Driven out in 1833, they set up their headquarters in Caldwell County, and in 1837 founded a town called Far West. Another settlement was made in Daviess County. On August 6, 1838, there was an election-day clash between Mormons and citizens in Daviess County. After a series of such incidents the Mormons petitioned Governor Lilburn W. Boggs for protection, while the Missourians petitioned for their ejection from the state. On September 15 militia were sent to the scene, suppressing hostilities in Daviess County, but disorder had spread into Carroll County,

About half a mile from our camp my two Frenchmen came to the edge of a prairie fire and saw a great number of men beating the ground with sticks and running to and fro amidst the flames to keep the fire from the fences of their fields. They thought they were witnessing a frightful battle, and they returned to our camp to ask if there was any safety for them. I reassured them, explained what had frightened them, and they left, still fearing that they would be taken for Mormon spies, among whom there were, they said, many French.

As for us, the next day we heard artillery and rifle shots. We saw armed troops coming to formation from every direction, and about sixty mules—booty taken the day before from the Mormons. We passed quietly through this theater of fanatic battles, although at our arrival a message had come asking that the Indians join the troops who were attacking the Mormons.⁶² This request was wisely rejected.

As long as we marched along the left bank of the Mississippi, the heat was excessive, the weather sultry, the water bad. On the opposite bank the temperature was cooler—sometimes becoming even cold—and this change produced happy effects on the health of the Indians. After arriving in Missouri, we

where the Mormons were holding the town of De Witt against a force of two or three hundred. Because of food shortage they surrendered without battle and removed to Far West, arriving on October 12. On October 15 a company of one hundred men organized at Far West, went into Daviess County, plundering and burning the town of Gallatin. On October 26 the militia were again called out, and four days later the Mormons surrendered without battle and agreed to leave Far West within ten days. They were permitted to winter in Caldwell County, but had to leave the state the following spring. They turned eastward to Nauvoo, Illinois, the scene of the next chapter of Mormon history. Rollin J. Britton, "Early Days on Grand River and the Mormon War," *Missouri Historical Review*, XIII (1919), 112-34, 287-310, 388-98; XIV (1920), 89-110, 233-45, 459-73.

⁶²The "Journal" dates this incident on October 25: "Sometime after our encampment the Conductor was waited upon by a gentleman, who it appeared had been delegated by the citizens of Richmond (a village near us) to request assistance as they really anticipated an attack from the Mormons tonight. Judge Polke informed the gentleman that such a step on his part would be entirely without the line of his duty." *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 332.

had hardly any sick.⁵³ The Indians were permitted to hunt on the way, and from the Illinois River almost to the limits of the Indian Territory they destroyed many deer, turkey cocks, and pheasants in a magnificent hunting ground. But we had the misfortune of finding that in the outskirts of the country assigned to them game became scarcer and scarcer, and no woods were seen other than little clusters on the banks of brooks which flowed far from each other in these vast prairies.

At a day's journey from the Osage River Father Hoecken,⁵⁴ of the Society of Jesus, came to meet us. He speaks Potawatomi and Kickapoo. He announced his intention of leaving Kickapoo country, where he has resided, to establish himself among my Christians.

Thus, Monseigneur, your aim and mine have been achieved. This young Christendom, in the midst of the anguish of exile and the ravages of epidemic, has received all the aid of religion. The sick have been anointed, the soil which covers the ashes of the dead is consecrated, faith and the practice of religious duties have been maintained, even in their temporal sorrows he whom these poor people call their father has had the consolation of often being able to render assistance. And now, left in the able hands of the Jesuit fathers, they need not regret the violent blow which has torn them from us—from the country, as they say, where their fathers rest—to leave them once more in the hands of the same priests who, more than a century ago, established traditions so favorable to Catholicism in the heart of these tribes. You wished, Monseigneur, only for the glory of God and the salvation of these Christians. I looked for nothing else. Let us hope your wishes will be fulfilled.

⁵³October 9 was spent in ferrying the Mississippi. One death is recorded on the eleventh, one on the twenty-eighth, one on November 5, and two on November 6, certainly an indication that the health of the Indians had improved. *Ibid.*, XXI, 327-35.

⁵⁴Father Christian Hoecken was born in Upper Brabant. At this time he was only twenty-eight years old—about the age of Petit. He had aided Father Van Quickenborne in conducting the Kickapoo mission, but despite the good work of the fathers it had not been successful, and he was transferred to the Potawatomi on the Osage River. He died in 1851 on a journey to the Far West. *Ante*, pp. 50-51n. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 647, 683, 687-88.

Having left on September 4, we arrived November 4. The number of Indians at our departure was about 800. Some escaped, and about 30⁵⁵ died—I do not think their number exceeded 650 at their arrival.

Awaiting Your Reverence's order, which will separate me from my children, I am, Monseigneur, with the deepest respect,
Your Reverence's priest and son in Jesus and Mary,

B. PETIT

PETIT TO JOHN TIPTON, November 26, 1838

[ISL: Tipton Papers—photostat of ALS⁵⁶]

POTAWATOMI CREEK, INDIAN COUNTRY

26th 9ber 1838

TO HIS HONOUR GENERAL J. TIPTON MEMBER OF THE SENATE
OF U. S.

GENERAL, Owing to the encouragement you gave me, when I was honoured with taking leave from your honour, I dare to day take the liberty of reminding you of the engagements you have taken towards me as a catholic missionary in behalf of the Governement of U. S.⁵⁷ It is not that I think you may have forgotten them, but I know it is very useful for us to call on your Credit, for otherwise we cannot look for an immediate execution of these engagements, operations, when left to themselves, going on very slow in the department of Indian affairs. It would then be extremely agreeable to us, if you would urge the execution in regard to building a church and a dwelling house for the Priest.

Now, I must also apply to you that you may be kind to recommend to the governement the propriety of an allocation made for the support of the catholic missionary from the Education fund—similar allocations are made for other denominations, and we are here in fuller operation than any one of them which I know of—how proper is that allocation cannot be matter of doubt! in this new country, a man can live

⁵⁵The total number of deaths recorded in the "Journal" is 43. *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 317-35.

⁵⁶The original of this letter is in the Indian Office, Letters Received, Schools.

⁵⁷See *ante*, pp. 88-89n.

only by farming but a catholic missionary cannot be a farmer ; and whilst his neighbour the protestant minister will work, six days of the week, to the improvements of his farm and to the support of his family ; the Priest will consecrate every moment of every day to the instruction of his flock, to visiting the sick, or to prepare himself by studying, reading and learning. If of course the catholic priest be not supported by his flock, and who could say that these poor Indians are able to support him, he must necessarily or live on nothing, or give up. Of the propriety of such an allocation, it is not necessary to speak any more, everyone understands it.

An allocation of 300 dollars per annum, had been made in behalf of the missionary on Yellow river ; when Bishop Bruté applied to the department that the sum would be paid, It was answered that I had been reported as opposing the action of the Government, and that consequently nothing should be allowed to me ;⁵⁸ now, if you think, that I can get that money ; for you know well, from the facts, that, in all that, I have been heavily misrepresented ; be kind to do for me what you can ; it is indeed nothing but justice, to repay me my expenses of the last year, during which I was supported by Bishop Bruté and myself, whilst in the meanwhile funds were appropriated for my support. My conduct must make you know, what were all these accusations brought against me.

I am happy to inform you, General, that I met here a Father Jesuit⁵⁹ sent by the society, who is specially intrusted with the care of these indian missions ; he will make his residence amongst these Indians ; the society has the intention to put up a school, and to spare nothing for the improvement of these good Indians ; for any person who is a little acquainted with the Jesuits, it is no doubt that they will be successful in their mission here, as well as any where else ; their preceding success in anything of that kind are a sure guarantee for the future. It is in their hands that I will commit, with confidence these Christians of whom God called me to be the pastor for a while ; and it is to them and for them as my successors that I claim the execution of the Government's engagements,

⁵⁸ *Ante*, p. 85n.

⁵⁹ Father Hoecken.

and the allocation for the support of the priest. the promising prospect of this mission deserves to be patronized by the Government.—If by any chance you could get the 300 dollars allocated for the mission on Yellow river, be kind [enough to] direct them to Bishop Bruté, Vincennes.

Hoping that you will patronize these our just claims,⁶⁰ I am General, of your honour, and with a high consideration
The humble servant

B: PETIT
ptre mre

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, November 26, 1838

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA⁶¹]

OSAGE RIVER, 26 November, 1838

MONSEIGNEUR,

I am sending you herewith a kind of detailed account of our emigration; if, as you told me, you deem it proper to send it to *Les Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,⁶² correct, cut,

⁶⁰Tipton forwarded Petit's letter to T. Hartley Crawford, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, on December 29, and wrote: "I know not what grounds there may have been to Justify the opinion given to your Dept in 1836 that he Mr P oppose the removal of the Indians from Ia. [Petit was not at the mission in 1836; it was Father Deseille.] I am hapy to inform you that *his conduct at the time and since I was engaged in the Emigration has been* such as to convince every one that he entered heartily into the removal and was very usefull in reconciling the Indians and in adminestering to the sick & afflicted on thier Journey west. allow me therefore to urge the subject on the consideration of the Dept . . . In relation to the civilization fund . . . I suggest the propriety and the Justice of allowing four hundred dollars pr anum . . . to be expended under the direction of the Revnd Bishop Brute of Vincennes." Tipton Papers. The Secretary of War, to whom the matter was submitted, allowed \$300 to be expended by Bruté for the Potawatomi mission, the expense of erecting a house and a chapel to be defrayed from the amount. Six hundred dollars was allowed by Congress for the building of new cabins in compensation for those burned at the village on the Yellow River. John Tipton to Petit, January 25, 1839, and T. Hartley Crawford to Tipton, March 30, 1839, Tipton Papers. *Ante*, p. 88n.

⁶¹The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis.

⁶²Petit's letters of November 13 (*ante*, pp. 97-106) and 26 were both entrusted to Polke for delivery. The first was published in the *Annales* as suggested. Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 131.

or expand it as you please: for example, supply a brief explanation of the events which led up to it, a brief description of the confirmation at the camp⁶³ (coming from you, this would make a good introduction), then a note on the Mormons, and finally whatever you think appropriate.

Among the blessings which the good Lord granted me during the journey (I must tell you everything) were some tests of endurance: I was taken with fever twice,⁶⁴ and I had an inflammation of one eye which for more than a month kept me from my breviary and made the celebration of the Holy mysteries extremely painful and difficult. This inflammation of the eyes is an almost inevitable result of the dust, sun, and wind in the prairies; several Indians even suffered from it. Then toward the end I came to a kind of exhaustion—without strength, without vigor. Today, since our arrival, I have been afflicted with fever again, and I cannot get rid of it, although I have left my tent for a house⁶⁵ somewhat better, but even here one is occasionally too much exposed to the wind. The savages are going to build a hut for the Father⁶⁶ and me, near the temporary church they have just erected;⁶⁷ it will be more comfortable. I was so feverish that my body was covered with a kind of boil as large as one's thumb and in a state of infection which tired me so much that I was not comfortable in any position. Today the greater number of them are healed, and I hope to be better soon. The Father, who is a doctor, is treating me, but I am extremely weak.

How many times in the weakness of this suffering I have thought of France and even of Vincennes! I am a gourmand in imagination *only*, for here only the bare necessities are to

⁶³The confirmation ceremony which Bruté held at the Indian camp outside Logansport. See *ante*, p. 92.

⁶⁴These attacks occurred between September 25 and October 3 and October 12 and 15. Petit's Journal, *post*, pp. 129-30.

⁶⁵See Petit's Journal, *post*, p. 131.

⁶⁶Father Hoecken.

⁶⁷A temporary chapel was immediately erected by the Indians on the banks of Potawatomi Creek, a structure forty feet long and twenty-two feet wide. Shanties made of wood, bark, and canvas were put up for shelters. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 683; Thomas H. Kinsella, *The History of Our Cradle Land* (Kansas City, 1921), p. 227.

be had. Things will be better, I hope, and in a little while I shall take near you, at Vincennes, the rest I need so much to prepare myself for new labors; or (who knows?) perhaps I shall recover my strength here, and my health will be completely restored.

I am sorry to learn, by one of your recent letters, of Messrs. de la Hailandière's and Vabret's bad health; I hope they are better now and that I shall find you all well.

As for my Indians, they are in general well and, as in the past, full of zeal. They are the consolation of Father Hoecken, whose mission for the last two years has been nothing but a trial, almost devoid of consolations;⁶⁸ after the thorns, he will have the rose.

I have not received the letters you mentioned in your last; if you have the goodness to write to me, my address is B. Petit, Catholic Missionary at the Potawatomi Village at the Osage River, Post Office at Westport,⁶⁹ Missouri.

Accept, Monseigneur, my respectful homage and entire submission, and deign to pray for your child and priest,

B. PETIT

Ptre. Mre.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Brute Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana.

PETIT TO BISHOP BRUTÉ, January 18, 1839

[Translated from photostat of ALS, UNDA⁷⁰]

ST. LOUIS, 18 January, 1839

MONSEIGNEUR,

I received your valued letter dated November 6 last only on December 23 following. The good Lord having delivered

⁶⁸The Kickapoo mission had not been successful. Several things contributed to its failure—the hostile attitude of the head chief, Pashishi, the Indians' passion for strong drink and their general moral degradation, and finally lack of funds and lack of co-operation on the part of the government. Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 650.

⁶⁹Westport, now Kansas City, about forty-five miles northeast of Pottawatomie Creek.

⁷⁰The original of this letter is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis. A somewhat altered version is printed in *Annales*, XI (1838-39), No. LXV, 396-97.

me from the fever⁷¹ three days previously, the solemnity of a recall addressed by his Bishop to a priest who wishes to live only with obedience all his life, and the circumstances of Messrs. Vabret's and de la Hailandière's departure,⁷² left no room for doubt in either Father Hoecken or me that I should depart as soon as possible. January 2, after part of the festivities, was the date settled upon, and I tried to prepare myself for it as well as possible by rest and light exercise. . . .

After a horseback ride of a hundred and fifty miles I found it impossible to continue thus on the journey: my weakness was growing worse every day. I was accompanied by an Indian,⁷³ who is returning to Logansport; he sent his horse back, and mine was then tied behind the stage. After coming rather painfully to Jefferson City, we sojourned there a day. Then an open wagon, ostensibly a stage, carried us through rain and over frightful roads to St. Louis.⁷⁴ The good Lord permitted me to make this journey with an open sore on the seat, another on the thigh, and a third on the leg—the remainder of the numerous sores which covered my whole body during my illness at the Osage River.

I arrived at St. Louis exhausted and suffering a great deal from all these sores, which had not improved much during the journey. I was received like a brother by the Jesuits,⁷⁵ of whom Father Hoecken had given me to understand I could not fail to ask hospitality. I was immediately given over to the medical treatment I urgently needed at the hands of their hospital attendant, who is also a doctor. Already, after three days of rest, I feel an improvement which Providence will, I hope,

⁷¹This was Petit's fourth attack, which lasted from December 12 to December 20. *Ante*, p. 131.

⁷²Father Vabret, suffering from lung trouble, had gone South for the winter, and Bruté had dispatched Father de la Hailandière, his vicar-general, to Europe to seek more missionaries and financial aid. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, p. 370.

⁷³Abraham Burnett. See postscript below and *ante*, p. 12n.

⁷⁴Reached on January 15. Father John Anthony Elet to Bishop Bruté, February 15, 1839. Photostat in University of Notre Dame Archives from original in Chancery Office, Indianapolis. Elet was president of St. Louis University at this time.

⁷⁵Petit was received and cared for by the members of the Society of Jesus at their university in St. Louis.

augment so that I may avail myself shortly of a steamboat, when the Wabash is open, to pay my respects to you and, by my return at your first call, to fulfill that condition of obedience under which you permitted me to make a journey so fruitful in blessings, with the provision that I employ well the favors of my Lord.

The Indian who is the bearer of this letter is one of my children; he has showered tender attentions on me in my misery throughout the journey. Welcomed here like a brother and son, he will doubtless receive the same consideration from Your Fatherhood. The horse he rides is mine;⁷⁶ he should leave it at Vincennes, where he will take my old Tom, if he is still there, to complete his journey. In case Tom is no longer there, you will have the goodness to supply what money he needs to buy another; I shall reimburse you myself later.

I have been visited by Mgrs. Rosati and Loras,⁷⁷ who, knowing it was impossible for me to do them homage, did not disdain to call upon your poor priest themselves. Tomorrow M. Nicolet is also coming to see me in order to get information I can give him about the Indians. I really feel shamed by all these visits; I am consulted concerning missions, and I shrink from the subject. I should like so much to be silent when I fear that importance is attached to my answers.

I received your last, Monseigneur, at Westport, as I was leaving. I recognized all the tenderness and solicitude of your paternal goodness, which was already so well known to my heart.

I close, thinking that I shall be restored in a fortnight, and that, when the Wabash opens, I shall have the long-denied happiness of receiving your benediction.

While awaiting that moment, accept, Monseigneur, the assurance of the respectful obedience and submission of your priest and son in Jesus and Mary.

B. PETIT
Ptre. Mre.

⁷⁶See Journal, *post*, p. 131.

⁷⁷Pierre Jean Mathias Loras, Bishop of Dubuque. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, V (1909), 180; Kempker, "Catholic Missionaries . . . of Iowa," *Annals of Iowa*, X, 56-58.

Mgr. Loras will soon reply to your last letter. Mgr. Rosati would like you to send the plan of the church at Frederick⁷⁸ which you have, or which he thinks you can procure for him.

[Addressed:] To the Right Revd. Bishop Bruté Vincennes (Knox Cty.) Indiana. Care of Abraham Burnett, my Potawatomi companion and son. B. P.

⁷⁸St. John's Church at Frederick, Maryland. Bruté had attended consecration ceremonies there in April, 1837. Godecker, *Simon Bruté de Rémur*, pp. 308-9.

CONCLUSION

FATHER PETIT did not live to see his Bishop again. Exhausted by his strenuous journey and weakened by successive attacks of fever, he died at St. Louis on February 10, 1839. He was not quite twenty-nine years old. On February 18 Father Elet sent an account of his death to Bishop Bruté:¹

"I have absolutely no doubt that Your Reverence has received our good Father Carroll's letter revealing the great loss your diocese has just suffered in the person of M. Petit. It remains for me to narrate the consoling and edifying details of his last moments in order to lessen the pain which such a loss must have caused your paternal heart.

"M. Petit arrived at St. Louis on January 15 (I believe), not only exhausted but reduced by fever, which he had had three times in four months, to a pitiable state. . . . God in His goodness must have given him strength which his body no longer possessed in order that he might have the consolation of coming among his confreres here to end his days and that we might have the happiness of showing charity toward a worthy and lovable man and of being edified by his virtues.

"How his name suited him! By his unalterable gentleness, his good humor, he showed himself the *Benjamin* of all those who could appreciate his good qualities; by his modesty, his humility, he was *Petit* in his own eyes, although great in the eyes of God and of all those who understood his true greatness. What patience, what resignation in his suffering! What lively gratitude for those who served him in his illness! But especially, what tender piety toward the Savior's Mother!

¹Father L. A. Elet to Bishop Bruté, February 18, 1839, translated from a photostat in the University of Notre Dame Archives from the original in the Chancery Office, Indianapolis. See also L. M. Pin to Bishop Bruté, February 7 and 24, 1839, Father Mathias Loras to Bishop Bruté, February 11, 1839, Father James Oliver Van de Velde to Bishop Bruté, March 24, 1839, photostats in University of Notre Dame Archives from originals in Chancery Office at Indianapolis; Bishop Bruté to Father Elet, February 28, 1839, St. Louis University Archives; Bishop Bruté's sermon on Petit, February 18, 1839, reprinted from *Catholic Telegraph* in *Catholic Advocate*, March 23, 1839.

"The eve of the Purification he asked my permission to celebrate Holy Mass the next day in honor of the Mother of Goodness who had protected him from his earliest youth and whom he had never ceased to love. The desire he showed was so great that, although I felt some danger on account of his extreme weakness, I granted his request. I therefore arranged an altar in the room next to his, a fire was made there early in the morning, and he said his last Mass there. . . .

"If your Reverence thinks I did wrong in acceding to his request, impose a penance upon me and I shall promptly accept it. M. Petit, although very weak, suffered less and slept soundly (he had not been able to do this for many weeks) during the nights of the 3d, 4th, and 5th, and he felt much relieved.

"But on the 6th the symptoms of his illness were such as to leave no room for hope. . . .

"All remedies were useless, because he was destined for Heaven. He grew worse hourly, and on the 8th he received the sacraments of the dying with angelic piety. Toward evening on the 10th they came to tell me that his end was approaching. I hastened to him immediately, and, upon seeing me come in, he raised his head to greet me; with a sweet smile upon his dying lips he nodded. I asked him if he was suffering greatly. He replied to me only by casting an expressive look upon the crucifix which hung beside his bed. 'You mean to say,' I responded immediately, grasping his thought, 'that He suffered more for you?' 'Ah, yes!' was his answer. At the same time I held the crucifix to his lips, and he kissed it tenderly twice. His confessor was busy at this moment; I prepared him again to receive absolution, which I gave him.

"At ten o'clock in the evening I was called again: he was in agony. I went immediately and with several others I recited the prayers for the agonizing. His eyes were fixed constantly on us, and at the conclusion he asked for water. Retaining consciousness to the end, he quietly expired twenty minutes before midnight, February 10, 1839.

"Following the custom of our society, I had him clothed in full sacerdotal vestments, and he was then placed on view in the library. On the 11th, at 5 o'clock in the evening, the whole

community assembled in the chapel to recite the office of the dead. On the 12th all the fathers said Mass for the repose of his soul; the other members took part. At 9 o'clock of the same day the service took place. All the students were assembled; the temporal coadjutors, the scholastics, the fathers, the priests of the cathedral, the two bishops, the celebrant in a cope with two assistants in tunics went in procession with the body, which was borne in a casket covered with black velvet which was carried by eight students, each wearing a scarf of mourning. I sang Mass, and Mgr. Loras, at the request of Mgr. Rosati, gave absolution. A great number of Catholics on horseback and in carriages accompanied the body to the cemetery, where I blessed the grave and performed the last rites. . . ."

Father Petit's body was brought back to St. Mary's Lake, site of the University of Notre Dame, in 1856.

The remnants of Petit's little flock of Catholic Indians were left in good hands. Under Father Hoecken's supervision a church was erected at Pottawatomie Creek, and temporary shelters of bark and canvas were put up. In March, 1839, the tribe moved about twenty miles southward to the banks of Sugar Creek in Linn County, Kansas, a country remote from white settlers and offering an abundance of timber and sugar. A large log church was erected there, and more permanent homes were built. The arrival of new missionaries made possible the opening of a school. In 1840 more Potawatomi emigrants from Indiana arrived.

In 1848 all the Potawatomi in the West were gathered together at St. Marys, about one hundred forty miles northwest of Sugar Creek, on the northern bank of the Kansas River.² Here they remained until the Civil War, when, threatened by the Confederate forces and by the western Plains Indians, they scattered north and south. At present most of them are living on reserves in Kansas and Oklahoma.³

²See Father Hoecken's diary in Kinsella, *History of Our Cradle Land*, pp. 225-36; Father M. Gailland's diary, printed in *Woodstock Letters*, VI (1877), 8-18.

³In 1937 there were 2,667 Potawatomi on the reserve in Oklahoma, 1,013 on the reserve in Kansas, and 142 in Michigan. U. S. Secretary of the Interior, *Annual Report*, 1937, pp. 254, 255, 258.

APPENDIX

FATHER PETIT'S JOURNAL

[Translated from photostat, UNDA¹]
Account rendered on my first mission
A. M. D. G.²

Octbre, 1837

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities, and references to the notes ³
Octbre, 16	Vincennes	110\$.00	\$.0	I should have departed on the 17th, but the stage forgot me, and I did not depart until the 20th.
Octbre, 20	Carlisle		0.37	Breakfast Mr Rebour, a young man from the East who received his education at St. Mary's of Baltimore, presents his respects to Monseigneur.
"	21 Terrehaute		.25	Dinner
			0.62	Supper and lodging
			6.00	Stage to la fayette
				Mrs. Turner—cumulating power,—Inquisition—no salvation out of our church—Why not to excommunicate all those who do not behave well.—catholics drunkards and swearers.
	Clinton		0.37	Breakfast
	Newport		0.37	Dinner
"	22 Perysville		0.62	Supper and lodging
	Covington		0.37	Breakfast
	Clarksburg		0.25	Dinner
	Lafayette		0.62	Supper and lodging
			2.50	Stage to Logansport
				I performed a marriage at the inn—see note 1. the stage having broken down and being unable to carry us, we hired a wagon.
"	23 Delphi	5.00	0.62	Dinner
			1.50	Wagon to Logansport
Totals		115.00	14.46	

¹The original of the Journal is in the Chancery Office at Indianapolis. In the translation and transcription of the Journal, part of which is in English, an effort has been made to follow Petit's style as closely as possible, both in form and in the spelling of names.

²*Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam.*

³These notes appear at the end of the Journal. See *post*, pp. 133-34.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
Octbre. 24	Thompson's Logansport	1.50	0.31	Lodging and supper Mr Murphy undertakes to get the refund for my fare on the stage and pays me in advance. Mr Lamy refuses to accept payment Mr François absent. Mr Lasselle ⁴ thinks that I can see the Indians without impropriety.—administered to a sick woman 7 miles from Logansport. See note 2.
" 25			5.00	Stage to Southbend Baptism of Marie Elizabeth Brouillet at Rochester. See note 3.
" 26			0.87	Supper, Bed, breakfast 18 miles from Southbend. Mr Muller came and took Mr Deselles' horse away, his own being sick, and he leaves it here, he also took various articles of clothing. Visit to the tomb of Mr Deselles. Conditions. See note 4.
" 27	Southbend			Learned a sermon, or nearly so, said Holy Mass. I found at Mr Deselles' 14 or 15 little catechisms which I have taken. I took one of his trunks and books, wrote to Vincennes.
" 28			.50	One bridle rein. Mass. departure for bertrand where I shall say Mass next Sunday.
" 29	Bertrand			1st. High Mass—Sermon in French, a few words in English—I confession—Mme. Joseph Bertrand ⁵ gives me a saddlebag, and two little books. return to Southbend.—Beginning of discussion.—
" 30	Southbend			Mass, Holy Scripture, theology.—diabolus meridianus. I prepare a little sermon in English for All Saints' Day. discussion.
" 31				Mass, preparation at the Lake for High Mass tomorrow. learned my sermon.—the person with whom I was carrying on a discussion feels shocked and troubled by it, so I shall stop for the moment. preparation of a sermon in French. Holy Scripture—gift of a penknife. I took two little Christian's guides to give away upon occasion.
Totals		1.50	6.68	

⁴Probably Hyacinthe Lasselle, who had a tavern in Logansport at this time. Helm, *History of Cass County*, pp. 529-31.

⁵Mona, or Madeline, daughter of Chief Topenebee. See *ante*, p. 50n.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
Novbre, 1	St. Mary's Lake	0.50		I am to say a Mass for the benefit of the person who gave me this half dollar.—High Mass, sermons in French, English—confessions—breviary—visits—sermons to prepare.—
"	2	0.50		I owe two Masses one to Ste. Monique, the other to the Blessed Virgin—High Mass, sermon in French, confessions. Mr Laurent Bertrand informs me that his wife is disposed to become a Catholic and desires to speak to the priest. letter to Vincennes.—preparations—Holy Scripture.
3				Said the Mass requested on the 1 st —Departure—arrival at Chichipé outipé.—a brief word.
4-26	Chichipé outipé near ply-mouth			Said the two masses promised on the 2, but said for that day.—138 communions, many confessions, 1 communion of the sick, 1 extreme unction, 1 burial, 28 baptisms 18 of which adult.— ⁶ 9 marriages—27 sermons—Dominus pars &c (Nov. 21)—visits to some Protestants, Mme. Belley ⁷ moved by grace.—speeches by the chiefs.—farewells, return.—letter to Vincennes. To Mlle Campeau for different things. for moccasins—Hélandière—Buteux. supper, lodging, my horse; 9 miles from South [bend].
26	Southbend		0.50	Mass, confession. I receive the news of the death of Mr Shaffer who died on Oct. bre 2. postage for letters.
27	same		1.12 0.50	Mass—letter to Vincennes—same to Detroit. letters to Mr Desilles collected at the post office paper—haircut.
totals		1.00	9.52	

⁶Fourteen of these baptisms were recorded in the Register. See *post*, p. 137.

⁷Bailly (?).

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
28	Southbend Bertrand			Mass—memorial—departure for Bertrand. Confession and conditional baptism of my goddaughter. Mme. Laurent Bertrand, converted by her husband.
29-30	Bertrand	0.75		Masses, Sermons ;—Reconciliation to be made, and made through God's grace.—return to Southbend. from a poor Irishman.
Decbre. 31-10	Southbend			I have completed the 10 Masses requested by Mr de la Hélandière for Mrs. Desilles and Schaffer. Visit to a poor Catholic who had joined the Dunkers, she comes to confession. Sunday catechism after Dinner.—I see at the lake Mme. Clark who wishes to become a Catholic.—Gifts and packages to Mlle. Campeau (note 5)—book lent to Mme. Belley.—a little prayer book, a catechism, a little pamphlet given.—Location for a second farm laid out (note 6). Letter to Mr François ;—theology, Holy Scripture, sermons. 0.25 Letter to France—Memorial completed. 0.12½ letter from Vincennes
Decbre. 11	Southbend			Visits to Mme. Clarke—I think that her sister at Mme. B. Coquillard's ⁸ will also become a Catholic
" 13	Bertrand			Departure for Pocagon's—Mr B: Bertrand ⁹ my interpreter, night journey.—sleigh upset nine times, broken.—confessions—6 communions.—extreme unction
14	Pocagon			—2 baptisms—letter to Mr Muller, dispatch of the Comparet note by Mr Coquillard.—confessions at the lake.—Mlle. Bourassa interpreter.
15-17	Bertrand			2 letters from Vincennes—I from Detroit—from Fort Wayne—I from Logansport.— <i>Washington</i> .
18	Southbend		0.72	
Totals				0.75 1.09½

⁸Wife of Benjamin Coquillard, brother of Alexis Coquillard. Coquillard, *Alexis Coquillard*, p. 20.⁹Probably Benjamin Bertrand, a half-breed son of Joseph Bertrand. "History . . . of Bertrand," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, Collections, XVIII, 130.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
19, 20, 21 22, 23 24	Southbend Bertrand			Writing of sermons, confessions, visits, fatigue.—Masses. confessions of Pocagon's tribe, Masses. return to southbend. High Mass at the Lake, sermons;—baptism of M ^{me} . Clarke—3 baptisms of adult Indians and 4 children at bertrand, ¹⁰ for afternoon confessions. Midnight Mass at bertrand, sermons, about 50 communions.—High Mass and 3 ^d Mass at the Lake, sermons, 10 to 15 communions.
25		2.0	4.0	from a good Irishman and from my poor reconciled Dunker lady. to Charron for services rendered, and horseshoeing.—Letter to M ^{lle} . Desille.
26-27	Southbend	3.50		On leaving Southbend.—M ^{me} . Clarke very ill, not married. departure for chichipé out. letter to Vincennes. arrival at the Indians' home.
Decre. 28- Jny. 5	Chichipé outipé near ply- mouth	10.50	10.50 2.00	Baptism of 28 adults; 7 children, ¹¹ 5 marriages, 107 communions. letter to M ^r Badin.— my New Year's gifts from the Indians, intended for wheat for widows and orphans.—given for orphans, neglected sons of a bad mother, to the woman who is in charge of them. she is the woman who made me a present of a pair of moccasins.—rosaries, cross.—conference with the Protestants.—difficulties of the poor Belley lady.
Totals		16.00	16.50	

¹⁰See Baptismal Register, *post*, p. 136.

¹¹Seventeen of these baptisms were recorded in the Register. See *post*, p. 137.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
January	5 Chichipé outipé		1\$.00	one pair of moccasins ordered at Monsseau
			0.25	postage for letters. letter to France.
			0.75	a skin from Pescho for my saddle
			0.25	advanced to Chechawkosse as a payment on my horse.—I lent the bishop's \$200 note to the chiefs departing for Washington. On January 27 I completed 50 Masses for the bishop.—Wrote to Logansport, to Vincennes. The Americans are making up stories against me, I saw, said one, I heard, said another. The savages are giving him 4 sections, not 4 miles square.—Theology, Holy Scripture.—Extreme unctions.—Mutual affection between the Indians and me.—counterorder for Washington.—counterorder for Vincennes.—Providence wants me here.—I am here, well.
February 10			60.00	Chechawkosse's horse being hurt I buy one from Benake ¹² 70 dollars, 10 on credit.
				Departure for South-bend.
February 10	South-Bend		0.25	Camomile—English taffetas.
			0.63	a whip
			1.25	a double bridle
			1.12	postage for letters and order from France and Vincennes
20-22	Bertrand	1.25		3 Masses which I said for the benefit of two persons from Bertrand.—Masses, confessions sermons, the number of Catholics seems to be increasing.—difficulties of intimate ministry.
22-26	Southbend			Theology, Holy Scripture. letters to Vincennes and preparations of letters for France. Departure for Chichipé.
	Totals	1.25	95.50	[86.50]

¹²Benack, a Potawatomi chief, had a village near the present town of Clunette in Kosciusko County. He had received one section of land by treaty in 1828, and eight in 1832. He died at his village in the 1850's. L. W. Royse, *A Standard History of Kosciusko County Indiana* (2 volumes, Chicago, 1919), I, 52-53; Kappler (ed.), *Laws and Treaties*, II, 273, 295; Winger, *The Potawatomi Indians*, pp. 70-71.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
February 26- March 20	Chichipé Outipé			I heard confessions in preparation for Easter, the Ash ceremony.—Studies; progress in Indian.—visits without interpreter.—M. Francois' visit—he confirms me in my idea of asking the bishop. . . . letters for my friends in France.—Funeral sermon to preach at turkey creek prairie—I have suffered many injuries from my horse. 14 baptisms, ¹³ 3 mar. from an Indian woman from Mr la Helandière. for oats. lent to Meshgamy. postage for letters, Vincennes, Washington, Logans[port]. traveling expenses.
20-27	Southbend			I prepare for my journey to turkey creek—sermons, theology—letter to Vincennes— Mass said for a woman who asked me for it beginning of confessions for Easter.— a strap and leather for my saddle. traveling expenses.—Mass at Lisburg at Mr Horan's home.—I preach and hear confession at Mr Norris' home. Methodist O Lord!—I bless the grave—baptism of the little Rousseau girl. ¹⁴ —Mass at Goshen at the home of Mr Wurster, whose newborn child I baptize. ¹⁵ — 2 baptisms at the Lake from an Irishman at confession. 2 Masses said for Norris from Charron for the Church—postage for letters, haircut, pills, combs. taxes for the land at the lake and cost of receipt (note 6).
27-30	Goshen Lisburg turkey creek	1.00 5.00 2.00 3.00 1.00 3.00	1.50 1.62	
30-April 2			0.87 83.31	
			168.00 [170.00]	92.30

¹³See Baptismal Register, *post*, p. 138.

¹⁴*Post*, p. 135.

¹⁵*Post*, p. 135.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
2-3 4-8	Bertrand Southbend	2.00		Confessions and Easter communions, 10. I said Mass at 9 o'clock at the lake this week to facilitate attendance at confession. 24 Easter communions.—Sunday 8, 4 baptisms; 2 Protestants at confession in order to become Catholic. for a summer coat.—the material. one horseshoe; a letter to France. departure for chichipé outipé. Mass said for Mme. bertrand.
10			8.75 0.50	
April 11	chichipé outipé			Labors for Easter, confessions sermons baptisms
25-26	Tippecanoe			Visit to a sick woman (at Benake's)
30-May 3	Southbend			Death of Mme. Henricks—I said 3 Masses for her; Catholic burial, funeral sermon.
May 4	Chichipé outipé			Completion of Easter labors. (201 communions)
-14-26	Pokagon's			Departure for Pokagon's,—there, 65 communions, 15 baptisms ¹⁶ and 5 marriages.
26-31	Southbend			Departure for Chichipé Outipé.
31-June 22	Chichipé			Number of Communions at Pentecost 168. number of baptisms from Easter till now has been 83. ¹⁷ —marriages 18. I begin confessions without an interpreter.
June 13	Louison's village	4.00		Visit and baptism of a sick man.—confessions, bapt. mar. ¹⁸
			12.00	tailoring and accessories for my summer coat what Mr Coquillard had given M ^{rs} . for his taxes last year I got the material and the accessories for the coat out of this.
		12.75		
	Totals	18.75	21.25	

¹⁶Eighteen baptisms are recorded. See *post*, p. 139.¹⁷See *post*, pp. 138-39, 139-41, for baptisms recorded during April, May and June.¹⁸See Baptismal Register, *post*, p. 140 and note.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
			3.00 a pair of shoes	
			3.00 a pistol	
			5.00 revamping my boots.	
			4.00 a hundred of flour.	
			4.00 two hundred of flour.	
			2.50 Postage for letters, and delivery to France.	
		1.50 Mme. Mouton comes 80 miles for her children's first communion.		
		3.00 from the savages.		
			1.25 My black straw hat.	
			38.00 lent to various individuals. Note 7. I have the note	
? June	Southbend		1.00 for some bran for my horse and a few boards	
		6.00 Sunday the 24th, I perform 7 baptisms at the lake. ¹⁹		
		3.50 for 5 Masses, from the daughters of Mme. Mouton, I said 3 for one and 2 for the other, according to their request.—My horse suddenly dies.		
			3.00 lent to Mr Pelletier.—I said a Mass for the young Chardonnet lady.—Sunday	
		0.50 the 1st of July I baptize at the lake 1 Indian woman, one Protestant young man		
		0.50 a child—first confession of a Protestant.—for a Mass for a deceased Father.		
5-7			I have said it.—I go to see a sick woman at Wane Kik—3 baptisms. ²⁰ (2 of Indians). 10 or 11 communions at the lake and at Bertrand.	
		1.00 from an Irishman.		
July 8	Chichipé Outipé		20.00 I lend 20 dollars to Pokagon.	
	Logansport			I go to Mr François' house at logansport with Mr Navarre. ²¹ cordial reception, confessions of Indians.
	Chichipé outipé			I return to my home two days later.
		16.00	84.75	

¹⁹See Baptismal Register, post, p. 136. ²⁰Post, p. 141.

²¹In 1820 Pierre Navarre moved from Monroe, Michigan, to the St. Joseph River. He built a trading post at the site of South Bend. He married a Potawatomi woman, by whom he had six children. He went to the West with the Potawatomi in 1840 but returned to South Bend, where he died December 27, 1864. Howard, *History of St. Joseph County*, I, 130-31.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	Activities and references to the notes
- August 5	chichipé outipé		0.50	traveling.—I performed 14 baptisms, ²² 2 marriages, very numerous confessions, many sick. I am a little tired out.—the emigration agents harass, accuse, flatter me; threaten the Indians;—to avoid the troops and armed force at the seizure of the reserve, I reply that the Indians will not offer resistance.—On the 5th the government takes possession of my pre-empted church and house.—on the 4th I say Mass there again, the altar is dismantled, and the church's interior stripped amidst the Indians' sobs and my own tears. I bid farewell; we pray together once more for the success of missions, we sing: In thy protection do we trust . . . I depart.✠
		5.00 2.00		from an Indian woman to pray the Lord for her son.—Sabien. from a Fleming.
5-Septre. 5	southbend Bertrand Pokagon's		3.00	I have the fever for 3 weeks, twice was I called to visit the sick at Pokagon's—everyone sick at Mr Charron's and Mr. Coquillard's,—I go to Bertrand to spend a few days recuperating. there I learn that the Indians are prisoners of war, Tipton having obtained a signal victory over the Indians who did not think of fighting—they are being forcibly emigrated.—their sorrow,—the number of their sick—upon the general's request I reply that I cannot accompany them, as my bishop has not given me permission.
Totals		7.00	3.50	

²²Fifteen baptisms are recorded for July and August at Chichipé Outupé. *Post*, p. 141.

[Dates]	Places	Receipts	Expenses	Activities and references to the notes]
Septbre. 5	Southbend			Sudden arrival of the bishop.—we set out for Logansport.—we pass by the camp, he conceals me—another refusal to permit me to accompany the emigration to the Mississippi—I will not ask again.—I receive permission—general Tipton's and judge Polke's request.— Mass, vespers and confirmation at the camp near Logansport—I leave to get my baggage— before leaving Southbend Mile. Campeau is dying— at Chichipé outipé Mme. Belley is dying.— I am unable to overtake the party until Danville Illinois.—
Septbre. 16		I find myself almost penniless at la Fayette an Irish woman gives me for Masses. 10.00	my journey from Logansport to southbend and from southbend to Danville paid for by the government.	
Septbre. 16				I sleep in general Morgan's tent.—a few baptisms.— 6 miles from Danville at Sandusky Camp, departure of Tipton and part of the troops Holy Mass twice, 6 deaths, 2 baptisms, 3 private baptisms.—at the camp 10 miles from Sandusky 3 deaths, muckose ²³ — camp Sidney 2 deaths— My appointment as interpreter.— one death—on the 23d two deaths.—I remain with the sick at the camp called Sangamon crossing—3 burials.— I rejoin the emigration 16 miles further on with the sick, one woman dead on the way.— yesterday Sinagowak and baptiste obtained permission to rejoin their family.—I am attacked by fever. a Frenchman wants to take me into his house, I fear difficulties in catching up.—At Naples where the emigration crosses the Illinois, I enjoy the hospitality of Mr Craft—I depart for
Octbre. 3			The government assumed my expenses on the journey I have however some expenditures of which I did not keep exact account.	

10.00

²³Probably Chief Muck Rose. His death is mentioned in the "Journal," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXI, 322. See also *ante*, p. 18.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	[Activities and references to the notes]
Octbre. 5	Quincy		4.50 (stage)	Quincy expecting to find there Mr. St Cyr; ²⁴ I meet there Mr Brickwedde German priest—Latin—the German's kind welcome,— Mr Schell—Mr Schrader—Mr Guth—Mr. and Mme. Rogers—an evening at the house of Senator Young. ²⁵ extreme unction for an Irishman—from an Irishman. I buy various things—boots, blankets, hose, wine, raisins, goggles, books &c.—Mr Brickwedde gives me a pipe—departure from Quincy—the health at camp improves.— Catholics come to see me at camp. breakfast at Paris provided by a Catholic; the baptist minister: indeed I feel in my heart that I Love mankind.—encampment in the snow.— I am attacked by fever,—the apples and the orchard—"I, also, am a suppliant" the two Frenchmen taking the camp for a fair and coming to see me—they mistake some men who are defending their fields against a fire in the prairie for a battle.—The Mormon war— American army forming at richmond— Cannon and rifle fire without seeing the enemy.—Independance, frontier town— wine and letter from Vincennes, we lose our way in a heavy all-day rain in the prairies to the number of 150 horsemen our American conductors even lost— encampment at the Miamis village called Wicās.—arrival of Father Hookins— ²⁶ the next day after
Octbre. 9		2.00	15.00	
Octbre. 12-15	Paris			
20-25 Novbre. 1	Richmond Independance		1.00	
Totals		2.00	20.50	

²⁴Father John M. I. Saint Cyr came to America in 1831 and was ordained a priest on April 6, 1833, by Bishop Rosati. He was sent to Chicago, where he remained until 1837, when he was appointed to service in the vicinity of Quincy. In 1838 he was transferred to the old parish of Kaskaskia. Rothernsteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, I, 524-26, 751-52.

²⁵Richard Montgomery Young, member of the United States Senate from 1837 to 1843. *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress*, p. 1739.

²⁶Hoecken.

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenditures	{Activities and references to the notes}
Novbre. 4	Osage river Potawatomi Creek	245.00	100.00 90.00 4.50	Holy Mass we depart.—arrival at our destination—my salary as interpreter my black horse bought—lent to Father Hookins to buy a wagon and a pair of oxen.— the doctor's kitchen utensils—at my demand the government makes me a present of my tent—I exchange my big gray mare for a horse which will stand the winter better in Indian fashion.—lent to Bourassa Lazare for his return on the guarantee of Abraham Burnett. I fall sick at Joseph Bourassa's, for 19 days I have the fever there—I return to camp—a church has been built there of bark and pieces of wood set upright, they are building an Indian lodge for us.— no flour—visit from the agent, he was more than willing to oblige, he knows every-thing through Polke.— I buy a bearskin for my saddle.— letters to France, to Vincennes, and detailed account of the journey entrusted to Judge Polke—still ailing, no bread.— the fever again.—received from Mr Lassellais in behalf of Mr Coquillard who owed me two and was to have received 18 from m ^r navarre who owed them to me. the fever leaves me, I feel better.—I receive only on this day my order to return, dated Novbre. 6— I prepare myself to depart within a few days in order to gather strength against the cold and the rigor of the road at this advanced season
Novbre. 8				
Novbre. 27				
			2.25	
Decbre. 12				
Decbre. 20		20.00		
Decbre. 23				
	Totals	265.00	226.75	

Dates	Places	Receipts	Expenses	[Activities and references to the notes]
29	Osage river	6.00		payment of an old debt of Joseph Morlin
		2.00		and from mechgami.— I have sold an ax to Mr.
		1.00		an old debt of old Noiakouleau
		21.00		present from the Indians on my departure.—
		3.00		sold a bridle— 1 dollar owed by a woman.
		4.50		part payment on David Morling's debt 5.50 remains
		30.00		from abraham burnet for Lazare Bourassa's debt
			4.50	a bridle.— some hay and some mocassins
			1.00	overshoes

NOTES

No. 1. Delphi 23.— between the stage's arrival and departure I married John Oheiran and Ellen Holland. not having had time to hear their confessions as I should have liked to, I did not give them absolution and merely tried to move them to contrition, then married them; as I was much pressed for time, or rather I imagined I was more than I actually was, I proceeded with the prayer *Deus qui potestate*, to the end before the benediction—*Deus Abraham*—I pronounced from about *sapiens ut Rebecca* to *ut videant ambo* & the conclusion.— I had the license and I took the declaration of 4 witnesses that they knew no impediment.— I made out a certificate of marriage, which I am sending by Mr. François of Logansport.

No. 2. This woman was very sick and could not speak; she tried, but after great effort to pronounce a few disjointed words, she told me she could not speak; I told her not to worry, I moved her to contrition as well as I could, then absolution, then extreme unction.— I felt worried by the words of absolution; fearing not to have administered it well, I conditionally readministered it to her upon departing—*si tu non es absoluta*, &c. thinking it was better to do thus than to run the risk of her dying without absolution.

No. 3. I was extremely hurried while performing this baptism, the old Presbyterian mother came to the door and said: dinner is served, the stage was about to depart; so, being a little disturbed, I was not sure of my baptism, and immediately after having pronounced the service once, I began again *si non es baptista* &c. I am not even sure the condition was not merely mentally expressed.—I did not have time to dine, and the stage departed without me, I was obliged to run after it. the child was about six weeks old, the daughter of the eldest son of Michael Brouillet, and M^{lle}. Chamberlain of rochester.

No. 4. M^r François paid the debts with the money that was found,— according to the testimony of Charron and another man who attended M^r Deseilles in his illness with him, it appeared that M^r Deseilles gave him his oxen, it also appeared that M^r François paid 15 piasters on a debt on which partial payments to be deducted from that sum had already been received.—all that being doubtful, I think it wise to leave everything as it is without offending anyone. M^r Muller took away a cassock, a cloak, a coat, and two albs.—

No. 5. M^{lle}. Campeau having asked me for a few pocket handkerchiefs, an old used cloak, some worn stockings which she had put aside for herself. I did not think I could refuse her these things, which were of no use and which will be so good for the respectable missionary lady. At the same time I took some of M^r Badin's rosaries for the savages—quite worthless.

No. 6. Taxes were owing for 1836 and 1837. the details of this account are as follows:

1836 tax	\$20.251
50% penalty for delinquency	10.125
100% interest per year in our case the interest has run 1 year	
3 months, 22 days	26.68
1837 tax	26.
fee paid to the town clerk for receipt	0.25

	Total	83.30
No. 7. I lent to David Morlin	\$4.00	
more to the same, 100 pounds flour.....	4.00	
more to the same, 200 pounds flour.....	3.00	
To Joseph Morlin ²⁷ on flour	.90	
more [to the same] 30 pounds of flour at \$4 a hundred	1.20	paid
more to the same for flour, 100 pounds	2.00	
Lent to Sissiak	3.00	
to Mechgami	2.00	paid
to Mousse	10.00	
to Mme. B:.....	5.00	
to the old Noiakouteau	1.00	
to Meksabi	1.00	
to the woman whose daughter died	1.00	
	Total	38.00 [38.10]

²⁷The sums lent to Joseph Morlin, Mechgami, and old Noiakouteau are crossed out, indicating that they had been paid back.

FATHER PETIT'S ENTRIES IN THE BAPTISMAL REGISTER¹

[UNDA]

I have baptized to day theresa daughter of Mr Philip Molegan and Mary Riley. Godfather, Patrick Molegan and Godmother Mary Cinquôme.
Lake St Mary near Southbend 25 March 1838 B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptized today Alexandre, son of Mr. Gabriel Proux and Marguerite Paget, born on March 17, 1837. Godfather Michel Paget and godmother Marianne Navarre.
Lake St. Mary near Southbend 25 March 1838. B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

.....
I have Baptised, standing as her Godfather, Mary Wallace wife of Mr. Joseph André.
At the lake St. Mary Dec^{bre}. 24, 1837 B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have Baptised, standing as her Godfather, Mathilda daughter of Mr. Rousseau from Lisburg, 4 years old.
Turkey creek prairie 29th March 1838 B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptised Marianna daughter of Mr. John Wurster and of Marianna Gardner, born on the 22^d. March 1838.
Goshen 30th. March 1838. B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

.....
I have Baptised thomas son of James Kelly and of Emmy Underwood, born on the 9th. of april 1836.—Godfather Edward Molegan.
Lake St. Mary 8th april 1838. B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptised Maria daughter of Mr. John Folly and Mary Binn his wife—Godfather Edmond Kenny.
Lake St. Mary 8th april 1838 B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptised Elias son of Joseph Metzger and of Eliza Harris, 15 months old—Godfather Arbogaste Zendly.
Lake St Mary 8th april 1838 B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptised Rosa daughter of Mr Arbogaste Zendly and Rosa Pinder—Godfather Joseph Metzger.
Lake St. Mary 8th april 1838. B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptised therèsa, daughter of Mr. Pierre Navarre and of angélique Kichouéckouay his wife, eleven years old.
Lake St. Mary, 5th april 1838 B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

¹Part of the entries in the Baptismal Register are in French and part in English. In the translation and transcription Petit's style has been followed as closely as possible.

I baptised Catherine Alexandrine daughter of Mr Pierre Nadeaux and Marie Rousseau.

Bertrand 24 Decbre. 1838 [1837]

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

This day, Decbre. 24, 1838 [1837], I baptized at bertrand also, François Ashképi—Jean baptiste Cagoneshe—Pierre Mendoca—Pierre son of Jean Bte. Bertrand—Angélique Papshe—Joseph Nanmé Kéckshe—Indians from Pocagon's village.

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day Denys son of John MacEllen and of Mary MacPit. Godfather Philip Molegan.

Lake St Mary 24th june 1838

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day thomas son of Henry Mac Nally and of Anne MacGraham. Godfather John Cannon.

St Mary's Lake 24 june 1838

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptized today Solomon timothee son of Leandre Metay and Marianne Mouton. Godfather Joseph Bertrand, Jr.

Lake St. Mary 24 june 1838

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I baptized today Caroline Zélina daughter of Patrick Maranthile [Marantette?] and Fanny Mouton, I was godfather.

Lake St Mary 24 june 1838

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptized to day Magdalen daughter of John Mayer and of Barbara Redis; Godfather Jacob Mayer.

St. Mary's Lake 24 june 1838

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day Margaret daughter of John Guilen and of Catharine Dougherty. Godfather James Develin.

St Mary's lake 24 june 1838

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day, Sophia Daughter of Mr Jacob Mayer and of Mrs. Catharine Bab.—Godfather and Godmother Mr and Mrs. Ferdinand Metzger.

Harris's Prairie 24 june 1838

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I have baptised to day, James Wallace 11 years old son of Mr Robert Wallace and of Rachel Taylor; I stood his Godfather; and Misses Mary Clarke his sister his Godmother.

Lake St Mary 1 july 1838.

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I baptized to day Andrew son of Mr. Frederic Reimer and Marianne Zindley. Godmother and Godfather Mr. Arbogaste Zindley and Mrs. Metzger.

St Mary's Lake 1 july 1838.

B: PETIT ptre. mre.

I baptized to day Therèse Tachouay daughter of Wabekaickaik of Pepiah's village. Pepiah's wife was godmother.

Lake St Mary 1 July 1838.

B: PETIT p^{tre}, m^{re}.

I have baptized during the month of *November 1837* at the mission of Chichipé Outipé

- Novbre. 5 Marianne Neshaup daughter of Neshaup
- Novbre. 7 Louis, son of Louison
- same Angelique daughter of Neowtona } married on the same day
- 8. Joseph son of Tchiikouaine
- 9. Charlot Necouteauckah son of Wapkonია
- same Joseph Tebocks son of Kissis
- Pierre, son of Me Mantowa
- 12. Marie Ashaué daughter of Misheupuckay.
- 13. Marie Mjeuckouoisie daughter of Maimantouai
- same Pierre son of Autackouaine }
- same Pauline daugster of Pekanse } married on the same day
- 15. Jean Baptiste Senatchauen son of Ashkum
- 16. Jean Baptiste Wakâkoushek son of Chaktossah.
- 19. I married Pierre Caumité and Marie Panousmockouay
- 19. Jean baptiste Skabego

B: PETIT p^{tre}, m^{re}.

I have baptized during the month of December and January 1838 at the mission at Chichipé Outipé

- Decbre. 30 François son of Mucksabay.
- January 2 Marie Tôppai daughter of Nautawkoushai
- same Elizabeth Nashkouaibeus daughter of Wassmikeseau.
- same 8 Marianne Menanckoway daughter of Oussikosse
- Marie Mâmiai daughter of Comosussep
- same 10 Marie Pammockaway daughter of Joseph Mikeshouak and Marie Tôppai
- January 10 Josette Watchickoway daughter of Mickeshouak and Tôppai
- same Marie Nanawknah daughter of Pitowânawbah and of Tôppai
- same François Shkesh son of Wishkepai
- same Joseph Koössac son of Wackomuckay
- same Angélique Pacco daughter of Mandjioussah.
- same Josette Chockoussay daughter of Kekathemeau
- same Therèse Kouaimi daughter of Kotaipkène
- same Magdeleine Michaiwackouay daughter of Nashkikto
- 16. T. Marie Namcomgockouay daughter of Minjuck
- same Jean Baptiste Nackautâno son of Pembetto
- 21. Marianne Piiwa daughter of Noneshkum

B: PETIT p^{tre}, m^{re}.

I have baptized during the months of February and March, 1838, at the mission of Chichipé Outipé.

- | | | |
|----------|-----|---|
| February | 28. | Joseph Nanimimukshko son of Kawpi |
| same | | Benjamin Kakakshi son of Mishewash |
| March | 1. | Antoine son of Hyacinthe Lasselle |
| same | | Jean Baptiste Clermont. |
| same | | Pierre Neschah son of Kouaitnain |
| | 2. | Jean Baptiste Wackeshmen son of Nanimimuckshkuck |
| same | | Marianne Kockouaiwai daughter of Tchiikouah |
| | 4. | Joseph Wassai son of Maichuk |
| same | | Marianne Paishko daughter of Ashkum |
| same | | Angélique Outchiickouay daughter of Ashkum |
| same | | Marie Messah daughter of Wassato |
| same | | Marianne Aïah daughter of Akinôteko |
| March | 4 | Marie Gosselin, daughter of Gosselin and Messah |
| same | | Marie Genisskouay daughter of Poimshah |
| March | 8 | I married Jean Baptiste Assaschkuck and Josette Wat-chickouay |

B: PETIT p^{tre}, m^{re}.

I baptized during the months of April, May, 1838 at the mission of chichipé Outipé

- | | | |
|-------|-----|---|
| April | 16. | Elizabeth daughter of Naishkicketo |
| same | 17. | Jean Baptiste Waïbenemoit son of Comési |
| same | | Marie Wishaiweckouay daughter of Pempshia |
| same | | Marie Wabenémésickouay daughter of Mashkki |
| same | | François Kiockona son of Chaptóna |
| same | | Marie Demoskikiague daughter of Okaitji |
| | 18. | I married Etienne Benake and Anne Otawackouay |
| same | | Baptized Pierre son of Commowah |
| | 19. | Pierre Kiounem son of Nanawmi |
| same | | Marie Assepockenomkouay daughter of Medjissah |
| same | | I married Pierre Pamécôché and Elizabeth Némabem |
| | 20. | Marie Micheketockouay wife of Mjeuckouisse |
| same | | Elizabeth Annoinekay daughter of Packouchek. |
| | 26. | Jean Baptiste Pinache son of Wa Wasso |
| | 29. | Marie Tchakoussaik daughter of Matchikki |
| | | Therese Kouaiskouische daughter of Pemtackouitchek |
| | 30. | Josette Jabouépkouay daughter of Sagienetche |
| May | 4 | Marie Godin daughter of Bisailon |
| May | 5 | I married Pierre Kiounem and Angélique Kechnouckouay |
| May | 6 | I have baptized Josette daughter of Chaketo |
| | 7. | Marie Mockouay daughter of Muckôsse |
| same | | Marie Montchouasse daughter of Katchkomi |
| same | | Joseph Mjeuckouisse son of Kouiknowa (married to Micheke-tock [MS illegible]) |
| same | | I married David Morlin and Josette Annecathouay [?]✠ |
| | 8. | Antoine Câtôt son of Mikessis |

- same Joseph Châketo son of Chakemain
 same Joseph Mjeuckânah son of Aikahouah married Kônetchek.
 same I married André Gosselin and Marie Messah✠
 9. same Pierre Côtot and Marguerite P Kishnonckouay
 10. Baptized Marie Niipa daughter of Matchki
 13. Benjamin Pashpoho son of Wainemek } married on
 same Anne Kipowaikkouay daughter of Maisko } the same day
 same Marie Miskoinonckouay daughter of Waimikon

B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I baptized at Pokagon's in May 1838.

- May 19. Alexis Kebaskuk son of Paiwah
 same Antoine Antwaicki son of Onamouche Kouay
 same Pierre Kaneki son of Shpettô
 same Archange Messinagockouay daughter of Wassato
 same David Joseph Sakeman son of Mijebneshwesh
 23. Paul Mijewidah son of Kshejek (and married to Angue.
 Tchiikais)
 same Jean Baptiste Pikouakousay son of Kshejek
 same Marie Etienne Kepémissen, and Marianne Naudnonckouay
 May 23 Pierre Beauti son of Mijebneshwish } married on the
 Agatha Psheupshickouay daughter of } same day
 Minguasheckay
 same I married Jean Baptiste and Angelique Wabashnockouay
 24. Baptized Louis, son of Taikémesmeau
 same Marie Tchiagay daughter of Saackouait
 same Marianne Nopmickouay daughter of Misnonsi
 same Marianne Sakapinsckouay daughter of Soackouait
 same Marie Outchahonne daughter of Misnonsi
 25. Jean baptiste Maishkuk son of Nockay (married to Kouai
 Kouaish
 same Antoine Ashtaickouait son of Nemkouaitto

B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I baptized in the month of June 1838 at the mission of Chichipé Outipé on the yellow river.

- June 1. Jean Baptiste Wawassuck son of Kiouckem
 same Alexis son of Wiskickouay
 same Pierre Nibackouay son of Nantouay
 2. Pierre Wabenem son of Pawppi
 same Joseph son of Anssuck
 same Josette Mettiah son of Quickouneau
 5. Abraham Joseph Burnett son of Wijiakoupai (married the
 same day to Marie demos Kikiague)
 same Joseph Aikenin son of Osaomuck } married
 same Marianne Oketchi daughter of Nakomuck } the same day
 same Marianne Nashkounan daughter of Maijuck
 same Pierre Chaikanai son of Miasckouëk
 same Joseph Woabackouay son of Wabenem

- same Joseph Kakekaïmek son of Maiwah
- June 5 Joseph Metouaishmen son of Tassouâck
 Marie Outâckay daughter of Miguésis
 Jean Baptiste M'dâmene son of Winnekis
 Pierre Wipekônni son of Aiskopakki
 Josette Kassbi daughter of Mousseau-paini
 Elizabeth Messagickouay daughter of Aiskopakki
 Jean Baptiste Pappouawi son of Wainainemucksi
 Louis son of Mousseau paini
- same Pierre Nesswabmi son of Nantwai
 Angélique Piwaickouay daughter of Mejissah
 Marie Kaiwah daughter of Mejissah
 Pierre son of Aiowai
- same Marie Nannecy daughter of Sucksi (Reed)
 Antoine Kiockem son of Onancksi
 Angélique Migo daughter of Onancksi
 Jean Baptiste Patchkéché son of Chouaka
6. Angélique Nanantouaickouay daughter of Noïacouteau
 Marianne Jishickouay daughter of Kouashkouay
 Paul Kouic Kounon son of Kouic Kounon (married to Mané.
 Nash Kounon
6. Louis Aiowai son of Kouic Kounon (married to Josette Zumo.)
5. I married Jean Baptiste Wabenemet and Elizabeth Attai-
 buckouay
- same same Joseph Jacketeau, and Wimtegoche Kouay
7. Marianne Kiawai daughter of K'tawâne, married to François
 K'tawâne
 Josette Wishpuckouay daughter of Kâpi
 Marie Kipuckutt'kouay daughter of Osaoutep
- same Pierre Nikeso son of Naioussai
8. Pierre Manidô son of Medjissah
- June 8 Marie Kiwanaiskai daughter of Wainememokusset
 Marianne Ackounan daughter of Nenanko
 Angélique Suckani daughter of M'dâmene
 Monique Ackounan daughter of Papouawi
 Marie Pittanockouay daughter of Nâoussai
 Josette Mouaickouay daughter of Muckatah-oussi
- 12 Joseph Niscomso son of Patshkéché
- same Angélique Osahouïam daughter of M'dâmen
- 14 Sabien Kiwaionuck son of Mnesnonesi²
 Magdeleine daughter of Piaishwah
 Antoine Neshâh son of Nainanteau
 Angélique Autchickouay daughter of Migoueski } married on
 the same day

²The baptism of Sabien, Magdeleine, Antoine Neshâh, Angélique Autchickouay, and James Nickâtunnemen and the marriage of Alexis Delisle and Magdeleine Ducharme took place "at Louison's village, Eal River," according to Petit's marginal note.

I married Mr Alexis Delisle, and Magdeleine Ducharme.

15. James Nickâtunnemen son of Kijekpouamen

18. Jean Baptiste Aiatekuchek son of Patshkéché

19. Married Louis Skinoëk, and Magdeleine N'daussay.

François Kâtâte son of Muckatahaspen

20. I married Jean Baptiste Chaïano and Thérèse Kitâppâh

same Jean Baptiste Wabekekik and Marie Autenonckouay

same Jean Baptiste Pâpawi, and Anne Aickouaiwait

B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptized to day John son of Michel Wede and of Anne Kirnen. I stood his Godfather, and Sophia Rousseau was the Godmother. Wanekick on the St Joseph's river. 7 July 1838

B: PETIT

I have that same day baptised at the same place Mary M'chiiwah daughter of Stouikichek, and Marguerite Osawah daughter of Mitchehô.— Godmother Agatha Tchemonekkouay.

B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I baptized during the months of July and August 1838 at the mission of Chichipé Outipé

Marie daughter of Angéniss

July 16 Therese daughter of angélique Kiwaikoutchi and Miannekô

17 Thérèse Sipickouay daughter of Mucksabay

same Marie Piiwah daughter of Kawpi.

same Angélique Comisauckouaw daughter of Kawpi

23 Jean Baptiste Joubenet son of Saubetuck

Jean Baptiste Chakouteau son of Nanawmi

Elizabeth daughter of Sinagowah

Marie daughter of Kanekuck

Moyse son of Kanekuck

28 I married Joseph OKimans and Marianne Watchki

same same Jean baptiste Joubenet and angelique Comi-sockouay.

30 Baptized Marianne Peshiwah daughter of Namankoushkuck

31 Marianne Kakimi daughter of Sennebenem

August 3 Marie Ouiwatso daughter of Mijekanna

same Pierre Wanemack son of Pashpoho

same Angélique Pukechinonckouay daughter of Wawatso

The 5th of the month the government took possession of my house and chapel, pre-empted by an American.

B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

I have baptized today Benjamin Ferdinand son of Mr Charles Chandonnay and Luce Pelletier his legitimate wife. I was godfather and M^{me}. Chandonnay godmother.

Lake St Mary 23 August 1838

B: PETIT p^{tre}. m^{re}.

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THE DIARIES OF DONALD MACDONALD

1824-1826

With an Introduction by
CAROLINE DALE SNEDEKER

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1942

PREFACE

M^{RS.} Caroline Dale Snedeker, a daughter of New Harmony, has found in the home of her childhood an ever stimulating field for exploration. A long search for material about one childhood idol, Captain Donald Macdonald, led her at last, as she writes in her Introduction, to members of the Macdonald family in County Carlow, Ireland. In their hands she found the manuscript Diaries kept by Captain Macdonald on his two journeys to the United States and to New Harmony. Through her great interest and the generosity of Mrs. Helen Macdonald and other members of the family, there was secured a photostat copy of the Diaries. From this photostat, now in the files of the Indiana State Library, the manuscript was transcribed for publication.

Captain Macdonald's spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been preserved. To facilitate printing, a number of marginal annotations have been transferred to the text. They are enclosed in brackets. The end of each page of the original record is indicated by an asterisk enclosed in brackets. In other respects the transcription follows the original as faithfully as possible.

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INTRODUCTION

WHEN I was a little girl my grandmother (Mrs. David Dale Owen) used to tell me stories. She had the very modern and Pestalozzian point of view that a child should never be told fairy tales. Only the scientific truth so far as it was known to the narrator should be told to a child. Hence, when I begged her for a story, it was always some tale of New Harmony's early days that she related. She was ten years old when in 1824 she was brought to New Harmony, and she remembered vividly the pioneer days.

New Harmony was never a pioneer town in the ordinary sense. It was inhabited by university men, writers, theorists, humanitarians, and naturalists. They had come from London, Edinboro', Paris, and had brought with them their scholarly world. The town while it still had a good many log houses had been bought outright by Robert Owen. It had large public buildings of brick and stone, a church, a tavern, residences, all ready for the doors to be opened.

"Other towns," said my grandmother, "were founded for gain or because the people were unsuccessful at home, but ours was founded for an ideal—for the good of humanity."

I was very proud of this. It made me feel better than my neighbor—aristocratic—a reaction which would have been most undesired by Robert Owen for his little great-granddaughter.

The men of New Harmony became my heroes. No child of old could have felt more inspired by King Arthur or the Black Prince than I was by these brilliant persons. I almost wished I could have been born in the olden time so that I could have seen them. Many of them stayed in New Harmony for years, long after the Social Experiment had died. They pursued their lifework, left descendants, portraits of themselves so that they were easily to be pictured as part of the town.

But one of them came and went like a meteor, leaving no descendants nor any trace. And he was my favorite, as I

think he was my grandmother's. "Young and very handsome," she said he was (at least that was the impression I carried with me), "very noble of nature and a gentleman." He was Donald Macdonald, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Skye. "Others," said my grandmother, "might claim that title, but he was really Lord of the Isles."

The name and strange title took the fancy of the little Posey County girl. I would say it over and over. Lord of the Isles—what isles and how many? It sounded as though he ruled all the islands of the seven seas. And Earl of Skye. Of course my grandmother told me that this did not mean the sky and was even spelled in a different way. But somehow the arch of the azure was in it as I said the word.

As I grew older I read accounts of this Donald Macdonald in Robert Dale Owen's book, *Threading my Way*. Macdonald had come over in the same ship with Robert Owen and Robert Dale Owen when they came to take possession of New Harmony in the autumn of 1825. Robert Dale Owen's anecdotes were witty and romantic. In the same ship were Manuel Garcia and his family, sailing to America to found the opera in New York. The opera singers sometimes gave concerts on the deck when the weather was good. The voyage took six weeks. Plenty of time for the young people to grow well acquainted. Plenty of time for Macdonald to fall in love with the charming Maria Garcia. She was very young, a beautiful singer even then and destined to become famous all over Europe. Her father was cruel to her, making her work terribly hard all through the voyage, correcting and abusing her in public so that at one time the beautiful Maria fainted in Robert's arms. And the Captain told Garcia that if he were not more gentle with his family he would put him in irons in the hold. Robert said that Macdonald was completely in love with the abused heroine and wished to marry her, but the cruel father, true to the romantic type, refused.

In spite of the fame that came to her, Robert felt that Maria Garcia's life would have been much happier had she married the fine young man Macdonald rather than Count Malibran, who treated her as badly as did her father.

The Owen party arrived at New York, where they met all the important folk of the city. But among those who called

upon them was a man clothed completely in green. His name was Page. "I am the page of Nature," he announced. "I wear her livery, as you see." He had long manuscripts which he wished to read aloud, full of wild theories. The Owen party discovered to their chagrin that they, with their New System of Perfect Living, were being compared with him. He called upon Macdonald at the City Hotel, aired his theories, and pirouetted in his light green clothes. Macdonald afterward said ruefully, "Are we *all* crazy, do you think, Robert?"

This was the last I could gather about Macdonald for some years. Then, during the repairing of a house in New Harmony, the diary of William Owen was discovered between the walls.

This diary was full of references to Macdonald, for he seemed to have been William's special companion during the earlier voyage of 1824-25 when Robert Owen's party were coming out to view New Harmony for the first time and perhaps to buy it. William tells the events great and small, day by day. He describes the voyage down the Ohio. Once while the steamboat was laid up for the night the two young men went ashore in Kentucky to join a frolic of the woodsmen. An enormous pile of brush had been gathered, astonishing to the eyes of the two young Scotsmen. This brush was set against a magnificent tree and then lighted. William and Macdonald had never seen such a conflagration. When the great tree succumbed and fell, a shout of joy went up from the whole party. William Owen and Macdonald from tree-starved Scotland must have thought it a terrible waste, but they enjoyed the spectacle.

The Owen party made their long journey, arrived at Harmony, visited the Rappites, bought the town and thirty thousand surrounding acres. Then Owen went back to Scotland, leaving the nineteen-year-old William in charge. Macdonald joined Owen at New York and went back to Scotland.

By this time Donald Macdonald had grown clearer in my mind. I was so charmed with him that I put him into both the books which I wrote about New Harmony. I studied about the Isle of Skye everything that I could find in the encyclopedia, so as to understand Macdonald better. I came across a description of Duntulm, the ancestral Macdonald castle. I

came to be in love with the Isle of Skye, which seemed as far distant as Madagascar and as magical as the lost Atlantis.

When in 1929 I went for the first time to Europe, I carried with me the hope that I might see the Isle of Skye. It was hardly a hope, for I saw no way to get there—my party was not going to the Isle and surely I could not travel to so remote a place alone—but a wish harbored as long and as intensely as this one has a curious way of being fulfilled.

Into our hotel in Geneva one day came a party of Scots to meet with some of their kin just arrived from China. Very happily they met, and gaily and excitedly they chatted in the lobby.

My friends said, "If you are so anxious to go to Skye, why don't you ask those Scottish people about it. They ought to know."

I approached a lady on the edge of the circle and timidly asked if she knew of any way that one could go to the Isle of Skye. I shall never forget the intense blue of her eyes as she looked up at me and said, "Why do you ask me about my beloved home?"

"Because all my life I have wanted to go there," I answered.

"Do you hear this?" She turned to her friends. "This lady has always loved Skye and wants to go there."

Immediately she was enthusiastic about helping me.

"I will see that you get a wee roomy. Skye will be crowded in July, but I will see that you get a wee roomy. And you must meet my friends, so they will show you the real Skye."

Thus it was, that a few weeks later I was traveling across the Highlands from Inverness to Kyle of Lochalsh. From there I took a boat on the Minch. It was the strangest feeling of unreality—of sailing into a dream. Here was that Isle that had been a dream in my mind almost ever since I could remember. But now the basalt mountains soared from the tide into the clouds. Oh, far more beautiful and terrifying than any imagination of them! Skye never did become anything but magic to me. Did I not see a fairy lake tinged blue because "the lady fairies wash their dresses in it?" Did I not see the groove in the rocky shore where the viking ships had been drawn up? Did I not see Dunvegan Castle, where one of the McCleods

had married a fairy? Here was the bridge where she had said goodbye to him; here was the fairy flag she had given him; and the babies in that castle were still sung to sleep with the old Gaelic tune the fairy mother had sung.

But when I asked for my Macdonald, they laughed me to scorn. I must know that everyone in northern Skye was named Donald Macdonald except a few Ronald Macdonalds and Angus Macdonalds. The Lord of the Isles had never gone to America, neither now nor a hundred years ago.

Just as I was giving up, a kind Skye lady suggested that I write to a certain Captain Alan Macdonald who lived on the far flung Cape of Waternish and who was very wise in the history of Skye.

This I did, but I came away feeling that I had been on a very delectable fool's errand.

Some time after I reached home I received a ten-page letter from Alan Macdonald telling me that he was unable to find my Macdonald. A few weeks later I received a twenty-page letter telling me that he *had* found him.

The only clue that I had been able to give Captain Macdonald was that in the 1860's two men had visited Harmony who were sons of Macdonald. Their father, an old man now, and living in London, had said that when they came to America they must surely visit New Harmony. They gave their names and their rank in the Indian Army. From this the clever genealogist-soldier of Skye had found the name and rank of my Macdonald. This Macdonald had never been of Skye, and, alas, was never the Lord of the Isles. He had lived in Edinboro'. He was Captain Donald Macdonald of the Royal Engineers, was appointed ensign on September 12, 1808; lieutenant, on June 24, 1809; captain, on October 20, 1813. He was placed on half pay on September 28, 1824 (this coincides with the time when he started out on the journey with Robert Owen). He was in receipt of half pay until the time of his death in October, 1872—at the age of eighty-one years.

Macdonald was born on September 2, 1791, near Prestonpans. He served in the ill-conducted expedition to the Island of Walcheren in 1809, under the Earl of Chatham. It was one of the most disastrous military failures recorded in the history

of Great Britain. The object was to take Antwerp and weaken the French influence in Belgium, but much precious time was wasted in the reduction of Flushing and in the meantime the French garrison was considerably reinforced while the British were carried off in hundreds by a malignant marsh fever and ague. The original idea of capturing Antwerp had to be abandoned, but it was thought advisable to retain possession of Walcheren in order to compel the French to maintain a large force in Belgium and thus weaken their power elsewhere. Accordingly, fifteen thousand men were left for that purpose. But the epidemic continued its ravages and those who survived had to be withdrawn quickly, many of them with their constitutions shattered. About seven thousand soldiers perished. Macdonald also served in the defense of Cadiz.

"Donald Macdonald R. E. was married to Lady Ramsey Maule, by whom he had six sons."

I have quoted from my Skye informant at length because these are all the facts I have about Donald Macdonald.¹ They are enough to make a fairly clear picture. He was only eighteen at the time he went through the dreadful fighting at Walcheren. We do not know whether he was of the number held there, but if he were, he evidently did not suffer tragically from the epidemic, for there is no indication of ill health anywhere in the diaries. Indeed he seems to have endured a great deal as a traveler. He twice walked the fifteen miles from Mount Vernon to New Harmony in preference to riding the baggage wagons, remarking that the trip reminded him of soldiers on the march. He was thirty-three at the time of the first journey.

His diaries record two journeys to New Harmony, one in 1824-25 and one in 1825-26. He writes in a clear fine English

¹Macdonald supplies a little additional information in a letter of February 16, 1826, to the Editors of the *New Harmony Gazette* (I, 173-74). While stationed in Edinburgh in 1821 he became interested in Robert Owen's theories and in the work that he had done at New Lanark. He associated himself with a small group called "The Practical Society"—out of this came the Orbiston Community in Lanarkshire—and began work among the families of mechanics and laborers. How he and Robert Owen met does not appear, but some months later he "accompanied Mr. Owen when he visited Ireland." This was in the autumn of 1822. Macdonald was afterward on military duty in Ireland "for nearly two years."—Ed.

style—not too fine to be vivid. The diaries are on 122 folded sheets of beautiful old paper, running in a narrow column down the sheet, with room on the left-hand side for dates and notes. They are written in a readable hand—with the old-fashioned long letter S—hard to decipher only where a newly sharpened quill pen makes the script faint and hairlike.

For long periods the record misses scarcely a day. It mentions the thermometer, the weather at sea, the kind of soil and the livableness of the country through which the party traveled. It describes in particular every move of Robert Owen, every argument on shipboard (and there were heated ones!), every call in New York. There is a vivid picture of that busy little city—not well paved and somewhat countrified. Prominent people called at the hotel to see them; they returned the calls, evidently afoot.

The party took a boat on the Hudson and voyaged to Albany, much annoyed by the sparks and cinders which showered the deck. Macdonald was never, however, a complaining traveler: he was too much interested in the new country and the establishing of the New System. At Albany the Owenites met De Witt Clinton; near Trenton, Joseph Bonaparte, at whose villa they stayed; at Boston, the elder Adams; at Washington, Adams the president. They dined with each, and Macdonald left a good description of each. Later he described the aged Thomas Jefferson. The party stayed all night at Monticello because Jefferson did not think it safe for them to return after dark over the mountain roads. In the early morning Macdonald walked on the heights and later he described what he had seen.

During the first part of the journey the group traveled an astonishing amount by water. One realizes that New York is on an island, that Philadelphia is a seaport. Then came the Ohio and the wilderness, the Rappite Harmonie, which they examine with meticulous care. The most emotional entry in the diaries covers the departure of the Rappites from their home. They had built the town, they had lived there for ten years, and they were leaving it forever. Weeping, praying, singing choruses, the band playing appropriate music, they waved a final goodbye from the steamboat as they disappeared down the Wabash. "I never in my life returned home after parting

with friends, with so sad a feeling as that melancholy afternoon," says the poor young man of his return to the tavern through the deserted town.

Then comes the year-later second journey—the long voyage and the second arrival at New York. Macdonald's account is a companion piece to Robert Dale Owen's *Threading my Way*. Macdonald called twice upon the Garcias but there is no indication in the diary that he was in love with the young Spanish singer. To be sure, at Washington he bought some Spanish books and determined to study Spanish because it was, "next to English . . . the most important language in the New World." One might suspect a different motive.

The party arrived the second time at New Harmony, and Macdonald put into his diary a brief description of the stormy founding of the Community—the daily meetings and arguments, the forming of one Community after another to try to promote peace. Macdonald was not in accord with all the provisions of the Constitution that was finally adopted, and at last severed his connection with the Owenites. "I left Harmony on the 4th. March," he says simply, "at which time a proposition was under discussion to request Mr. Owen to become sole manager for some time. . . ."

There was no word of criticism, not one note of the chagrin and regret which he must have experienced after having started out so hopefully as a follower of the New System, and after having spent almost two years in its service. That is what I call a loyal gentleman.

The remainder of the diary is, if anything, more vivid than the early part. The journey down the Mississippi in flood is well and scientifically described. Macdonald went to New Orleans, Havana, Charleston, and thence by ship home, finishing his story with a poem to a hawk which had alighted on deck off the Scilly Isles.

So Donald Macdonald disappears from our view, though his own family in Ireland doubtless have many more recollections of him and of his long life of eighty-one years. I still think it remarkable, since he left no trace in New Harmony, that I should have discovered his diaries in County Carlow, Ireland, through the kindness of Captain Macdonald of Skye.

CAROLINE DALE SNEDEKER

JOURNEY TO AMERICA, 1824-25

AT SEVEN o'clock on the morning of the 2nd October we sailed from Liverpool for New York in the New York, a ship of 520 tons, Captn. Maxwell. The wind was high & against us when we came off Holyhead, and we beat about with the Isle of Mann to leward of us.

1824
October 2nd
Saturday

The wind still contrary. We continued tacking in the same situation.

Sunday 3rd

The weather calm and to the east of south which enabled us to lay our course down the Irish channel with little wind. This evening some conversation relative to education took place between the passengers & Mr. Owen, in which the latter supported the position that under a natural system of tuition by sensible signs children in masses would at 10 years of age possess more useful knowledge than young men at present do, on coming from college.

4th

Early this morning we passed the Tuscan light on a small island off the county of Wexford, laying our course. After breakfast a long discussion took place relative to the nature of Mr. Owen's system. [*] The conversation was carried on principally by Mr. Flower, Dr. Strachan, Mr. Roy, & Mr. Wolsey. Light winds.—

5th

(5th contd.)

Light winds from the south & rain. We lay a great part of this evening & night without wind from 20 to 30 miles south of Cape Clear. Conversing relative to the effect of circumstances in forming the opinions & habits of society was the general subject of conversation. Whist, Picket, & chess the amusements; and reading German on Mr. Hamilton's plan, a partial occupation of two of the passengers.

Wednesday 6th.

Becalmed this morning to the southward of Cape Clear. A northwesterly breeze sprung up this evening.

Thursday 7th.

Westerly winds. Mr. Owen explained the views which he had relative to the best social arrangements, to unite the advantages of a private and public education, of private families in the country and in towns, and the employment of agriculture united with manufactures. The union of

Friday 8th.

from 600 to 2000 persons, he [*] considered capable of effecting this arrangement. He added that while individual property & private interests were made the groundwork of social institution, mankind could never attain the degree of improvement which would arise from a union of interests, by which means the greatest abundance would be quickly produced & by which practices the way would be opened easily to give good dispositions, good habits and a great extent of knowledge to every human being. Dr. Stewart objected that Mann was naturally corrupt & had fallen from original goodness. This brought on a discussion relative to the cause of Sin, which ended in Dr. Stewart maintaining that Deity was omnipotent, good & wise, and yet that Man made himself bad. This night was squally with the wind ahead.

Saturday 9th.

A fine morning, wind westerly. After breakfast Mr. Owen stated that the first public infant schools were commenced four or five [*] years back in London in consequence of his coming before the Public with the New Views.—

Mr. Flower showed a ground plan of his colony between the Great & Little Wabash rivers. Dr. Strachan showed the surveys of the School lands in Upper Canada. These lands are given as a fund for the parish schools, & are divided into portions of 200 acres, accompanied by the surveyor's notes, who is allowed to draw for a certain number of lots in payment of his labour. This evening the wind came round to the North.

Sunday 10th.

The wind northerly & the sea running high, in consequence of which divine service as proposed by Drs. Steward & Strachan, could not be performed. We kept our course westerly going from 9 to 11 knots an hour.

Monday 11th.

Wind moderate from North east. After breakfast, Mr. Owen shewed the ground plans & elevations of the community residences proposed by him. He gave some papers which explain some of his views.—We passed this morning the ship Dorset going east. This afternoon we spoke another ship bound to Liverpool [*] This afternoon at 6 o'clock we had prayers by Dr. Stewart, who proposed to have them every morning at 8 o'clock & every evening at 6 o'clock.

Monday 11th.
Continued

Tuesday 12th.

The wind easterly and fresh We kept our course

west, going from 8 to 10 knots an hour. Our ship rolled a great deal in consequence of the wind being aft & without any side wind to steady it. The inconvenience attending this motion during the time of meals was overcome in a great measure by the table & benches being fastened to the floor, and two long boxes with holes in them for glasses being fixed along the middle of the table, thus securing the dishes between them & leaving room outside for the plates. The duty on board the ship was carried on by watches of four hours each, bells at both ends of the ship being struck every half hour. We breakfasted daily at 1/2 past 8, lunched at 12, dined at 4 & drank tea at 7 o'clock. Our passengers were Mr. Flower a settler on the Wabash river, and his niece Miss Ronalds, a Mrs. Blackburn from Leeds going [*] to her husband in New York, the Revd. Doctors Stewart & Strachan from Canada, of the established church, Mr. Peterson a Danish gentleman residing at Charleston, Mr. Davis, Mr. Brown, Mr. Wolsey, & Mr. Mallard, gentlemen apparently merchants, Mr. Roy a Virginian Proprietor Mr. Day & his nephew Mr. Fergusson, New York Merchants, Mr. Owen & his son, & myself.—I induced Dr. Strachan to learn German on the Hamiltonian plan, and daily gave him a lesson in translating the testament from that language into English. I daily took one from Wm. Owen in a book of German Fables. Miss Ronalds who knew something of the language begged to join the class, as well as Dr. Strachan ultimately. Mr. Owen read Mr. Hodgson's tour through the United States & Captain Halls voyage to South America. We lived remarkably well on board, the Captain having a large stock of live animals, a [*] cow to give us milk, and good wines.

This morning after prayers Dr. Stewart commenced an argument with Mr. Owen on responsibility & Man's power to change his own beliefs which was continued for a couple of hours after breakfast. Mr. Owen maintained that he was compelled to belief as circumstances made him. Dr. Stewart, in which he was joined by Dr. Strachan, held that he could choose his belief. The argument terminated by Dr. Stewart agreeing to support Mr. Owen's plans to remove bad circumstances & introduce good ones to influ-

Wednesday 13th.

ence Human Nature, as far as they were consistent with his own opinions.—The wind came to the southward this evening.

Thursday 14th.

This morning the wind freshened up and after noon blew a fresh gale in squalls from the South East. It fell calm in the evening and suddenly sprung up from the north. This morning after breakfast Dr. Stewart read extracts from the printed papers [*] relative to Mr. Owen's first public meetings in London, Mr. Owen having given several copies to the passengers, and a variety of comments were made relative to the bold declarations therein contained concerning the irrationality & universal error of Social arrangements. Dr. Strachan strenuously contended from Man's free agency & responsibility, on the grounds that though he did not create the motives of his own actions yet that he had the power to investigate them and choose among many.

Friday 15th.

This morning fine with a pleasant side wind from the north. At Breakfast Dr. Strachan opposed Mr. Owen's opinions on the ground of their tendency to destroy conscience which he maintained to be an innate principle of right & wrong, while Mr. Owen contended that in practice no two nations had the same conscience & that every human being could be given a conscience quite [*] at variance with his neighbour's. Dr. Stewart read a quotation in manuscript to explain that conscience resulted from a sincere & judicious mind being enlightened. The general opinion to which the company appeared to come was that Conscience was in the outset of life instinctive but that this instinct might be so misled in early training as to render it difficult to decide as to the direction or manner in which its uninstructed nature would lead us. It fell calm this evening & in the course of the night a breeze sprung up from the S. E.

(Friday 15th.
Octr Contd)

Saturday 16th.

The wind changed this forenoon to the northward with heavy rain. A long conversation ensued after breakfast on the question of Free Will. Dr. Stewart opposed Mr. Owen's views because he believes Man to be a Free Agent. Mr. Owen endeavoured to contrast the opinions originating from such a belief. He observed that [*] it appeared extremely inconsistent to think that an Almighty, wise & beneficent God, who was omniscient & foresaw all things, should make a being who could at any time be a free agent and independ-

ent of him. Dr. Stewart thought the ideas not at all inconsistent, but did not see how that position tended to elucidate his system. Mr. Owen maintained that it did, as the banishment of all rewards & punishments was a necessary part of his practice; and he held that it shewed how absurd it was to believe that an omniscient & wise & good Deity, should create beings to punishment & misery, foreseeing as he did, before their birth what they would do all the days of their lives. Dr. Strachan still objected to Mr. Owen's principles, but approved of his system of communities, which he thought in no way connected with them. This afternoon it blew hard from the N. West, and split the fore & main sails. The Night was windy. [*]

This morning fine but the wind directly against us from the West. At Breakfast Dr. Stewart stated that on one voyage which he made, there were on board another clergyman & a quaker, and while crossing the Fishing Banks a question arose whether it was proper to fish on a Sunday. He and the quaker were in support of the propriety of it, while the Captain of the vessel & the other clergyman were against it. He added that he & his friend brought their opponents round, principally by the argument that fish were frequently beneficial to the crew of a ship from the W. Indies. At one o'clock Divine service was performed in the Cabin, all the crew attending. The greater part of the evening was spent by the passengers in reading & conversation. Sunday 17th.

This morning the wind was blowing steadily from the S. westward. After breakfast the conversation was renewed relative to Mr. Owen's denial of Man's Free agency. Dr. Stewart asked [*] a variety of questions tending to elucidate his opinions, and it appeared that Mr. Owen considered every thing in existence to be as good as it could be at present, if God were all wise, good & omnipotent. [Mr. Flower remarked that if every thing were perfect, there could be no motive to induce any one to strive for a change. Mr. Owen replied that the state of things had a progress from infancy to manhood like the growth of the human being. The proof of things being at present in the best possible state was their producing the perception of a Monday 18th.

beneficial change, which was likewise a sufficient motive to produce a change.] Dr. Stewart was surprised at his not allowing the existence of Sin; Mr. Owen allowed much to be that men wished to alter and he contended that his practice alone would effect the change. Dr. Stewart rose & maintained he could keep his eyes open or shut them. Mr. Owen said he could not shut them. The Doctor shut his eyes & it then became evident that the cause of his shutting his eyes did not evince his free will, but arose from external impressions. Dr. Strachan held that such opinions & arguments destroyed all reasoning & the foundations of right & wrong. Mr. Owen replied that we should never understand & know [*] the motives & causes of human actions or how in practice to remove the evils we felt & complained of, if we did not perceive that Man was necessarily compelled to think feel & act as he did, and adopted the practice towards human nature which such perception would suggest. The evening was passed at cards & chess, & reading. I finished Hodgson's Tour through the U. States & began Captⁿ. Hall's voyage to Chili. We were all this day on the Banks & passed one Brig.

(Monday 18th.
Cont'd.)

Tuesday 19th.

This morning the wind came from the Northward and we kept our course over the Bank with a light wind. We saw a Brig at a distance. After breakfast conversing on the subject of the advantages of Union, Mr. Flower expressed a fear that mankind would not be contented in communities. It was remarked that Pride of Heart made men restless, & that this was in consequence of a belief in individual merit—[*] The Duke of Wellington who had risen higher in distinction than any one of his day was restless, and more subject to discontent than persons who had remained in obscurity. Mr. Flower did not consider him a distinguished man beyond the limits of a military view, and thought that his permitting in silence the treaty of Paris, which secured the lives of the supporters of Bounaparte, to be violated in the execution of Marshall Ney would be a blot on his character sufficient to obscure his excellencies in the eyes of the admirers of social liberty & security. No man of sense or prudence would ever trust his life or fortune to the word of a man who in the face of the

world had once so glaringly broken it.—After breakfast the Captain was sorting the Bags of letters for the U. States—During tea this evening some remarks were made relative to smuggling in the United States, and it appeared to be the opinion [*] of some of the company that it is carried to a less extent in North America & considered more disreputable than in Great Britain. While we must acknowledge that it is wrong & prejudicial to the tranquility & morals of society to transgress the laws of a country, yet we may question the wisdom of any laws which are found at all times at variance with apparently very general & innocent inclinations. There is not a country a Traveller returns from with a commodity either prohibited or oppressed by a high duty, which is not badly governed when a free exchange of productions is prevented. This afternoon being calm, fishing lines were let down in above 30 fathoms water, & in less than 5 minutes some fine & large cod were caught. The night was squally and rainy, wind southerly with lightening. For a few seconds previous to a heavy shower a bright ignis fatuus like [*] a lanthorn appeared at the end of the Main Top Gallant yard to lighten our darkness.

This morning the wind was northerly blowing a pleasant breeze with flying clouds. The conversation at breakfast related to Sir John Malcolm's account of Central India, by which it appeared that the Hindoos experienced many advantages from living in villages united in many respects as if each village were but one family. Mr. Flower censured the establishment of the Holy Alliance. Drs. Stewart & Strachan & Mr. Owen considered that it had its good effect in causing security in the mean time while the population of Europe had time to study the subject of liberty and learn to understand its nature with which they were not yet sufficiently acquainted in order to be able to apply the theory in practice.—[*]

Wednesday 20th.

In the afternoon it fell calm and so continued until early on the morning of

when a S.E. wind gradually arose till it blew us along at the rate of 8 or 9 knots an hour. After breakfast Mr. Owen read to the company an extract of Mr. Thompson's work on the Distribution of Wealth in which he explains the System

Thursday 21st.

of Union in Communities. I read some of Captⁿ. Hall's account of Lima, and remarked that the custom of the Ladies drawing a black hood over the head, face shoulders & arms, when they went abroad was exactly similar to that of the Tarifa Ladies on the shores of the Straits of Gibraltar.—This custom seems thus to be traced to the Moors, but why it should only remain in one town in the Old Country & be carried to but one city & that the Capital of the New, is not so easily accounted for. [*] This evening the wind came round again to the West.—

Thursday 21st.
Contd)

Friday 22nd.

Saturday 23rd.—
Latitude
40°-22'
Longitude
60 & a half.

(Saturday 23rd.
Contd.)

Sunday 24th.

A westerly wind prevaild the whole of this day. In the evening during a conversation on the expences of government Dr. Strachan maintained that the U. States were fully as expensively governed as the British Dominions. This subject was continued after breakfast on the following day, when Mr. Owen took occasion to refer to his plan presented to a Committee of the House of Commons for employing and educating the Irish labouring classes. In reply to some remarks from Dr. Stewart with respect to the little progress he had as yet made, he stated that the Higher ranks & rich were opposed from seeing the great changes which it would lead to & not being equally sensible of the benefits they themselves would reap. Then, said the Doctor, America is your place and we will support you as far as our principles will lead us. This day the wind was [*] blowing steadily & briskly from the West. About 11 oclock A. M. we were in the Gulf stream, the sea water being at 74 degrees of temperature; we therefore tacked & stood to the N. West. to get out of the Gulf stream which runs eastward. The day was warm & fine though the clouds looked stormy. In the afternoon a sudden thunder storm with violent squalls came on from the N. West and a hard cold [wind] continued blowing all night.

About 10 o'clock this morning the wind encreased & continued blowing with very great violence for some hours. The sea ran extremely high & was frequently carried in clouds along the surface by the squalls. The ship lay too under a storm stay sail and close reefed fore sail, and drifted considerably to leeward though few seas were shipped. Many of the passengers remained in the round house occasionally

going out on deck to admire the movements of the troubled elements. Drs. Stewart & Strachan performed [*] Divine service in the cabin to the Passengers, & Dr. Strachan preached on contentment. In the evening the wind moderated & took down the sea at the same time. During the day many of the little dark feathered birds followed in the wake of the ship. I observed that they frequently resisted the violence of the storm by resting for a second or two on the surface of the water in the hollow seas. Our ship proved an excellent sea boat, riding easily on the waves and with comparatively slight motion rising over their curling & foaming tops.

This morning the wind shifted to the N. N. West, and the [ship] was tacked & stood nearly west. The temperature of the sea was found to be 66°. In the course of conversation at & after breakfast, the Captain mentioned that the sea serpent was believed to exist, for [*] two clergymen & several respectable persons had given their affidavits of having seen it. Light winds this evening.

Monday 25th.

(Monday 25th.
Contd)

The wind continued northerly all this day. In the evening it being calm we had a little dance upon deck, the cook of the ship, styled Doctor, was our musician. After tea American Politics were the subject of conversation. Some of the Passengers contended that it was injudicious in the President to assume in his last Message to Congress that the Nations of the Western Continents would not suffer any European interference in their proceedings. To this it was replied that it rather seemed a fine manly step as First ruler of the Oldest Independent Power to speak openly, to express his real sentiments derived from the most extensive information and to nourish [*] liberal sentiments in place of those which characterise the governments of Europe. By such plain proceedings he would lead the way to a close union between all the Nations of the two Americas, and it did not seem absurd to declare that the United States, Mexico, Columbia, Peru, Chili and Beunos Ayres, would not in future consider any portion of those continents subject to colonization by European Powers as formerly.—About midnight we were going 9 knots an hour before a southerly wind.—

Tuesday 26th.

(Tuesday 26th.
Contd)

Wednesday 27th.

The wind increased this morning and we some times advanced at the rate of 12 knots. The temperature of the atmosphere was 66°. The ship rolled so much that we shipped seas on both sides. In the Ladies' cabin a sofa [*] upon which two ladies and two gentlemen were sitting, gave way, upset a table, breaking it in pieces and throwing the ladies & gentlemen violently to the ground. In the evening it calmed, and the wind gradually went round to the North.

(Wednesday 28th.
[27th] Contd)Thursday 28th.

This morning was beautiful, and during the forenoon a wind sprung up from the South West, which enabled us to steer our course nearly. Our latitude was 40°-55' and longitude 66°-30'.—After breakfast a religious discussion was commenced by Dr. Stewart, and he on his own offer read to me two chapters from the works of Bishop [MS blank], being the introduction to a treatise upon the Truth of the Bible and intended to shew that if a candid inquirer after [*] Truth were not convinced of the authenticity of the Old & New Testaments by the amount of Evidence in its support, no proof of any historical facts could ever be handed down. Mr. Owen replied to the Doctor that the Bishop seemed unacquainted with Human Nature, which could not help believing the strongest evidence; that failing conviction, the individual evidently had not sufficient evidence before his mind. He continued that Young Persons were all over the world taught every variety of doctrine, and when grown up were in a state of mind which unfitted them for judging equally from the same evidence. Hence he argued the inconsistency of resting so much upon the Merit of belief, as [*] that depended upon early instruction and the force of evidence. The Doctors did not see the justness of this reasoning. I remarked to Dr. Stewart that the truth of Histories of Natural events might be estimated by the amount of evidence; but that those which related miracles, mysteries, & supernatural concerns, would not be rendered the more credible from the encrease of similar evidence. Of course the natural events of those histories would in proportion to the quantum of good evidence be more authentic, but the supernatural occurrences and statements would always require supernatural evidence for every person in every age, as well as explanation. Failing such evidence

(Thursday 28th.
Contd)

belief would be a sort of infatuation of which some minds are more susceptible than others. [*] Mr. Owen observed that he considered the value of discussion to be for the purpose of acquiring information & for improvement; he held the Bible to contain the most valuable practical precepts, and he was always desirous that every one should be left in full enjoyment of his conscientious opinions while all united to carry into effect the parts in which all were agreed. He rather wished to bring into notice & examination a new combination of advantageous practices, than to continue the worn out method of contesting points of Faith. The Doctors cordially agreed with him. Mr. Owen shewed a tartan dress such as the boys at New Lanark wear. Dr. Stewart questioned the advantage of very little [*] dress, upon which a discussion took place that shewed persons lightly clad from infancy to be much healthier, stronger & less susceptible of cold. Mr. Owen remarked that hitherto Society had never investigated in a practical manner, the questions what are the best food, clothing, and domestic arrangements. Dr. Strachan exclaimed that this was going too far, and becoming rather too practical.—The wind came round this evening to the N. West.

(Thursday 28th.
contd.)

(Thursday 28th.
contd)

This morning the wind was easterly and the weather fine. Dr. Stewart returned Mr. Owen the copy of his son's outline of the Instruction given in the Lanark schools, and observed upon the passages where it was stated that the children had no emulation & were only taught what they could understand, that many things must be taught them before their minds [*] could estimate them, and that it was too nice a distinction to say that children would be emulous advancing in knowledge in company of their comrades and not out stripping them. Mr. Owen replied that we should state in a clear manner facts which the minds of children would percieve like ourselves though they could not further explain them: and that the fact at New Lanark was, that children being instructed from the first without praising or blaming, rewarding or punishing them, but merely by kind behaviour and caressing them all; had no emulation to surpass their comrades, but only an active desire to acquire information & by mutual aid a communica-

Friday 29th.

Friday 30th.
[29th] contd)

(Friday 29th.
contd.)

tion of ideas to keep together, the quick & clever delighting to assist the dull & slow.—[*] After breakfast Mr. Owen shewed a tartan dress such as the girls at New Lanark wear. It was made to come lower down the legs than that for the boys. The Doctors were much pleased with it, and wished to have the pattern. In the evening we had a dance in the Ladies Cabin.

Saturday 30th.

This morning we were standing West by south with a N. westerly wind. The day was dry & cold, and the atmosphere extremely clear. We spoke a small vessel from the State of Maine bound to Charleston. Long. 71°-45' Lat. 39.25.—After breakfast there was a short discussion on the subject of baptism, in which Mr. Flower argued that it was at no age required for the children of Christians, as they are born in the spirit, whereas in the early age of Christianity & in the [*] Heathen nations, a public solemn ceremony was necessary to separate and permanently fix the condition of the converted.—In the evening we had a dance, which proved good exercise, agreeable in the cold frosty feel of the air, and particularly amusing, it being somewhat difficult to dance in a ship in motion. Conversing with Mr. Brown I found that he had travelled a good deal. He informed me that there is very little difficulty in getting into Society in the U. States, as the Americans are extremely glad to meet with foreigners. He travelled through Ohio & Kentucky in the middle of winter, and though it was very cold and from the snow being on the

(Saturday 30th.
contd.)

(Saturday 30th.
contd.)

ground a bad time to see the country, he found [*] no difficulty in getting along. In Ohio you can always find good fare and a night's lodging every 5 or 10 miles & at a moderate expense. Lexington the capital of Kentucky is situated in one of the most beautiful & fertile parts of the States, and there he said he visited some time and found a great deal of agreeable & polished Society. In Charleston the best Society is considered the most refined of the whole of the Union. In Washington he recommended our being at the Inauguration of the New President on the 4th. March, and a few days before in order to attend some of the debates. During the sitting of Congress, members bring up their families, live [in] large hotels and keep much

company. Batchelors [*] live in boarding houses, where are sometimes to be met a dozen of the cleverest members of Congress & judges from the distant States.—Mr. Brown's father is a rich merchant in Providence in the State of Rhode Island.—Mr. Roy a Virginian gentleman was describing to me the state of society in his state. General Washington, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, & a few others, he described as having fine estates and living in a superior manner. At Salem there is a interesting Moravian Establishment.—Mr. Day a New York Merchant described to me the direction of the ranges of the Alleghany & Blue mountains, the latter being a smaller ridge running parallel to the former on the Eastern side from the Northern limits of N. Carolina up into the States of New York [*] Vermont & New Hampshire being cut through by several rivers, rising in the Alleghany, & running through the intervening valleys. These abrupt openings and valleys he described as rich and romantic.

(Saturday 30th.
Contd.)

(Saturday 30th.
Contd.)

This morning the wind was N. West, the air mild & clear, and the clouds having a character peculiar to this side of the Atlantic. Mr. Owen believed the distance seen, to be perceptibly greater than he had observed at home. At one o'clock we had Divine service in the cabin. Dr. Stewart preached a sermon with much feeling & earnestness. The afternoon was extremely calm & the atmosphere mild & clear. From the deck of a vessel at sea the eye of an observer is elevated from 10 to 15 ft. above the water, and from the medium height [*] of 12 1/2 ft. he can in calm weather see about 4 3/4 miles every way; but In rough weather this extent is shortened by the elevation of the waves hiding the horizon. On land we are apt to imagine that when mariners are out of sight of land they see around them an immense expanse of ocean, whereas the view is limited to a circle whose diameter rarely exceeds 10 miles when no vessel is in sight.—Conversing with Mr. Roy, he mentioned the name of an old gentleman of the name of Divers residing near Richmond, who keeps the best establishment in the State of Virginia. He mentioned that the Judges of the Supreme court are for the most part simple & unassuming men; Chief Judge Marshall frequently travelling on horseback by

Sunday 31st.

(Sunday 31st.
contd.)

(Sunday 31st.
contd.)

himself with saddlebags. Passing an inn on the [*] road-side, the hostler called to him Well Master Marshal wont you alight & take refreshment. He stopt his horse and asking a few familiar questions added, I believe Jack I must make haste on to my destination. After dinner Mr. Flower entered into discussion relative to the principles & views of the English Radicals, and argued that since the time of their disturbances the government had adopted many of their propositions. It is true that there were many changes required & improvements to be made, which the radicals could in many respects trace out as well as their oponents, but the feeling with which they advocated them, and the manner in which they proposed to effect them, tended to disgust the most enlightened & amiable characters; for it is the most difficult & injurious method to reform by censuring, abusing and punishing [*] one's opponents.

(Sunday 31st.
Contd.)

Monday
Novr. 1st.

This morning the wind was N. West. Bottom was found with 40 fathoms. In the course of the afternoon Mr. Wolsey read to me part of a German tale called Mimili. In the evening we danced & played at chess. The wind continued from the same quarter, and the night was beautifully calm. During the last two or three days we had several small birds & two owls at different times about the ship. The lead was often heaved, & at night we were in 20 fathoms and 60 miles to the southward of Sandy Hook.

Tuesday 2nd.

(Tuesday 2nd
contd.)

This morning we were favored with a gentle southerly breeze & stood for Port N. N. W by compass, expecting soon in the day to behold land. This [*] was the topic of conversation at breakfast, and the sensations experienced when coming in sight of New York. Some of the passengers well acquainted with that place, compared its bay to that of Naples, and spoke of the animating thoughts which the first sight of the New World, the nursery of independence would naturally give rise to; while others recurred to the historical events of the ancient kingdoms of the world, in which the first principles of every science Religious, Moral & Political, came into being, and where the first heroes, legislators, philosophers, and artists were born,—in short where were to be found the oldest remains & records of whatever we most admire & value. After breakfast Dr. Stewart called the

attention of the gentlemen Passengers (14 in number) [*] to the consideration of a remuneration to the Steward, & Cook & their assistants. It was decided that Mr. Day should be requested to be treasurer, and receive 30s. from each, & divide the whole thus, 13-4 to Stewart, 6-8 to his asst., 6-8 to Cook, 3-4 to his d^o. It was further agreed to give the Captain a dinner at the City Hotel, the day after our landing at 5 o'clock, Mr. Owen in the chair & Mr. Roy vice President. A committee of three consisting of Mr. Brown, Davis & Mallard, were chosen to order the dinner.—The two reverend clergymen to invite the Captain.—The weather was extremely mild, and the sea quite smooth. While we glided through the water with imperceptible motion at the rate of from 7 to 9 knots an hour, we came in sight of four or five vessels. About 11 o'clock we saw land from the deck, a long low streak [*] of wooded land on the western horizon. While we were rising the land the passengers stood on deck observing the coast we were approaching, which proved to be the woodlands and never sink point near the lighthouse at Sandy Hook. These shores are covered with fir trees, at this season, looking brown, and resembles the views of the scenery of the islands in the South Seas as pictured in the works published by Emigrants. Mr. Owen looked with delight upon the New World considering it the field for great improvements in Society; & Mr. Flower viewed it as the nursery of independence. I could not wander far in the delightful regions of fancy; for my recollections of its history always led me to the expectation of seeing, Society much as I had seen at home; habits, dress, language, & customs, nearly the same in the Union as in Great Britain.—About two o'clock being in sight of Sandy-hook lighthouse, signal was hoisted for a pilot who came on board about four o'clock. From him we got two New York Papers, giving an [*] account of General La Fayette's visit to the tomb of Washington, and a report of Bolivar's having gained a victory over Canterac. The election of governor of the State of New York was going on, and the last day tomorrow. The yellow fever had been severe at Charleston & Savannah.—Soon after the pilot came on board the wind came to the N. West, and we were

(Tuesday 2nd.
contd.)

Tuesday 2nd
contd.

Tuesday 2nd
contd.

obliged to anchor in the mouth of the channel. Four of the passengers determined to go up to town in the Pilot boat. New York is 20 miles above the Hook. The Captain sent his Papers by the boat.—We learnt that the Diamond merchant ship which had left Liverpool with us, had not arrived; nor the Packet which sailed the week before.—At night it blew very hard.—

Wednesday 3rd.

This morning the wind was blowing hard from the same quarter, directly in our teeth.—About 12 o'clock the tide being favorable the ship was got [*] under weigh and we passed the Hook, and after several tacks passed the shoals & anchored on the western side of New York Bay opposite to Fort La Fayette. The evening was extremely clear & fine though cold, the shores were covered with pine wood, and a few small houses; the land looked rather poor, consisting of ridges of low hills.

(Wednesday 3rd
cont'd.)

Thursday 4th.

About 6 o'clock this morning we were again under way. The morning was calm and clear, the thermometer standing at 31 after the Sun had risen far above the horizon. A gentle breeze aided the flood tide, and carried us up the bay. On our right lay Staten Island, a low hilly isle covered with firs. We had the quarantine ground & Hospital pointed out to us; as likewise a square stone house on the projecting point, belonging to the Vice President. It stood in a bleak situation without trees, and inclosed within a formal wall. Further on [*] lay a small island with a fort upon it. To our right was Long Island and governor's Isle with a square fort upon it. As we approached the City we beheld the Battery, a public walk so called, extending across the point of land which divides the Bay, and separates the Hudson from East river. Numerous vessels lay along the wharfs, of all sizes & descriptions, and steam & harbor-boats were crossing & re-crossing from the city to Long Island. The shores of this Island immediately opposite to the City are hilly, and in order to prevent a bombardment during the last war a line of defence inclosing the hills was constructed at which the population worked. We were along the wharf about 9 o'clock. As soon as the ship was fixed, we landed and proceeded to the City hotel. The town at this hour was in considerable bustle. The streets are

(Thursday 4th
cont'd.)

rather narrow, and the houses of red brick with very high roofs, though of small dimensions. We next went to the custom house a new building [*] or at least one which they were enlarging. Two statements of the articles composing our baggage, with a form of oath were made out, which we signed & swore to, and then received an order to land them. The Building appeared small & of plain materials; and all the persons in it seemed as though they were of the same rank. Business seemed to go on quietly & civilly. Our concerns were finished there in about an hour, and at the cost of 75 cents each.—We then returned to the ship, opened our trunks which were slightly looked over & passed, and thence brought them in carts to the Inn. One box belonging to Mr. Owen, containing a few books relative to his views, and some drawings were stopped. [*]

(Thursday 4th.
contd.)

Mr. Owen went to the custom house & got an order to have the box sent to the Public Store, where he attended and after a great deal of trouble & delay, got it passed upon payment of a few shillings duty upon the books.—Orders had been given for the Dinner to be given to our Captain at the Hotel at 5 o'clock; Previous to which we looked over some papers & a pamphlet, which had been given to Mr. Owen in the custom house, by a Quaker Dr. president of a small society established for the purpose of forming Communities. The President invited Mr. Owen to one of their meetings at 8 o'clock in the Evening, and promised to call for him. While passing his baggage out of the ship, a Mr. Page introduced himself to Mr. Owen and gave him [*] some papers, respecting rules for a community & his petition to Congress for lands to establish it on.—After reading these papers, we walked to the Battery, a fine shady walk overlooking the Bay, and along Greenwich Street. I remarked that no one put Mr. before his name on his door. The houses look clean outside, and being built of red brick very smart; but the street pavement is irregular & not properly swept. There is a decidedly smart, quick manner & appearance among the people, and the females particularly.—Our dinner was well served, by quick waiters, though they were not what we should at home consider neat in their dress. The dishes contained every sort of game, &

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fine venison but being all put on the table at once overloaded it and were cold before they could be tasted. Our party was very sociable, [*] but I left it at 8 o'clock with Mr. Owen, his son & Mr. Flower, to accompany the President of the commonwealth Society as they call themselves to their meeting room in a private house, where we found about a dozen middle aged persons almost all quakers. A short conversation took place in which Mr. Owen was informed that they had formed themselves into a society for the purpose of establishing themselves in communities when their funds might permit. Mr. Owen asked whether any of the leading people favored them. The President replied that on the contrary, they discountenanced the idea of communities, and one of his friends had written a long letter against them. He added that Mr. Jefferson favored them in a confined manner, as the Harmonists, Moravians, &c, but opposed the idea as a state proceeding. Mr. Flower stated that he had visited New Lanark & been much delighted, and that Mr. Owen was on his way [*] to visit the back settlements. Mr. Owen hoped that on his return, he should be able to give them more precise & useful information. We then wished them success & returned to our Inn.

Friday 5th. Novr.

We went at 1/2 past 8 to breakfast at Griscomb's a quaker, in Grand street, who had been visiting Mr. Owen's & published some account of it in a work entitled a year in Europe. We walked along Broad Way. The weather had quite changed from a cold frosty N. West wind to a South Easterly warm breeze with rain. There are trees here & there along the street & some large handsome houses, and two fine churches which give a pleasing appearance to this part of the City.—At Griscombs we met Harvey the son of a Limerick Quaker, & Collins brother of a quakeress who interests herself much about schools. Miss Griscomb was frank in her manner, & intelligent.—[*] After breakfast an elderly quaker came in, and we set out with him to see some of the schools. The first was a large building belonging to the Female Association which educates about 600 poor girls at an annual cost of from \$1500 to \$1800. The children were very clean & seemed to be

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Novr. contd.)

kindly treated. In the upper room we found a large school of boys of colour belonging to the Manumission Society established 25 years back. The teacher said that he thought he found the darker the colour of the skin, the cleverer the children. Among them we remarked some with straight black hair. These we were told were of N. American Indian Parents.—They went through their lessons in accounts & geography with great quickness. From thence we went to one of the Schools belonging to the New York Association. This consisted of two floors 90 ft. by 45; the upper for boys & [*] the lower for girls. There are seven of these free schools in this city. The children are all taught geography.—On our way from this school we passed a large building three stories high, which Mr. Griscomb informed us the Society of Friends were erecting for a school in which he was to take an active part as teacher.—It was settled that about 11 o'clock tomorrow Mr. Owen was to meet a dozen of the Intelligent & Philanthropic gentlemen of the city, at the Infirmary.—We then returned to the Hotel, & after looking over some of his letters of Introduction Mr. Owen went out with Mr. Griscomb to deliver them.—He received two letters from Hunter the American Indian, stating that he was confined at Philadelphia by ill health, and was longing to see him. William Owen wrote to say that we hoped to be with him in three or four days. Our dinner [*] yesterday cost \$5—14 cents each. Mr. Owen called on Mr. Ludlow in Warren St. and Mr. Charles King Editor of the New York Evening Post and son of Rufus King who was once ambassador in England. From thence he went and saw Judge Irvine at the City Hall.—We dined at three o'clock at the Table D'Hote where from 50 to 80 persons, principally merchants, sat down to a good dinner provided with a variety of game. After dinner we called on Mr. Flower at a Boarding House near the hotel. He had arranged to set off the next morning at 6 o'clock in the Steam boat for Philadelphia. We met a Mr. Sampson there. On our return at 6 o'clock we found tea on the table. After tea Mr. Owen wrote to Hunter & Dr. Price's father, & William Owen & myself went to the theatre. The house is of moderate size, and

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plainly fitted up. The majority of the company of players are English. The performance was indifferent [*] and as the house was almost empty we had but little opportunity of observing the inhabitants of the City who are in the habit of frequenting theatres. At the city hotel supper is on the table from 9 to 11 o'clock.

(Saturday 6th.
Novr.)

Breakfast is on the table every morning from 8 till 10. A bell rings half an hour before and at 8 o'clock. After breakfast we went to Mr. Day's counting house to change our money which I shall describe hereafter. We were introduced to his Partner, and told to have our English letters ready by nine on Monday morning. We met Mr. Brown & Wolsey, & engaged to go to what is called a Game dinner, at which is served every sort of American game, at Syke's. Between 10 & 11 we went to Mr. Bayard & Co. with Mr. Peterson. Mr. Owen had a letter for him.—At 11 o'clock we went to the City Hospital where [*] in the governor's room Mr. Owen shewed his Plans and gave a short statement of his views to Judge Irvine, Dr. Hosack, Mr. Charles King, Mr. Dwight, Mr. Morse, and friends Eddy, Griscom, Collins, and another old man. Friend Thomas Eddey questioned relative to religious instruction to orphans, & Mr. Dwight relative to the state of religion at New Lanark.—Dr. Hosack who is President of the College of Medicine, invited Mr. Owen and his son & myself to his literary society which meets from 7 till 10 every Saturday evening.—Mr. Morse is Editor of the New York Observer, and Mr. Dwight has a paper at Boston.—On our return we were much pleased with the fineness of the day, lively scenery, and smart females, in Broad Way. Many old Dutch customs still subsist, and I remarked a great deal of Spanish costume.—We next called at the custom house, and sat for a few minutes with Mr. Ferguson [*] of the Naval branch of the Establishment. He is a pleasing middle-aged man, and seemed interested with Mr. Owen.—We called again on Mr. Ludlow, but missed him, as he had called at the Hotel while we were out. We then went to the City Hall, as Mr. Owen had a letter for Judge Edwards, but he was out of town. We met Judge Irvine who politely shewed us the building built of grey marble brought down

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cont^d.

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cont^d)

Hudson river. The large room was covered with Portraits of the Mayors of the City, and several Military & Naval officers who had distinguished themselves during the late war. I remarked one of General Jackson. The fringes of the window hangings were ornamented with Eagles & stars. Another chamber was the City Council room, handsomely and conveniently arranged. There we saw four fine portraits of Washington, Clinton, Hamilton & Clay. [This Clinton was a revolutionary general & uncle of the present De Wit Clinton.] Washington's countenance displayed mildness & intelligence. From the top of the building [*] we had a good view of the City. To the South lies the bay; East, the Sound & Long Island, West, The North or Hudson's river with its wooded & rocky banks;—and North, an extent of low country. The town looked well, and the church spires handsome. I remarked a horizontal windmill & was informed that there are 3 or 4 in the City. As we were rather late, we gave up going to Syke's & at 3 dined at the Table d'Hôte. After dinner the general conversation seemed to be about the Elections.—Between four & five a Mr. Woodridge from a Deaf & Dumb Institution at Hartford called with a letter to Mr. Owen from Mr. Goodridge. He stated he was proceeding to Europe to visit the various Establishments for Education previous to continuing his labours in some new works on that subject which he is publishing. He gave Mr. Owen a copy of his work. [He afterwards sent Mr. Owen an Atlas & a work on geography. Mr. Owen gave him names of persons to call upon in England. He sailed in the Liverpool packet on the 8th.] Mr. Dufief the teacher of french [*] on a new system called. He had been at New Lanark. He said that he thought Mr. Owen would find the Americans difficult to regulate or confine to any system, as they were fond of roving, and might be called a migratory race. At five o'clock a Mr. Houston called & took Mr. Owen to see Dr. Mitchell a very scientific & singular character.—A Mr. Grut who had kept a store in the State of Ohio called & gave us a long account of New Harmony where [he] had often been.—Between 8 & 9 o'clock we went to Dr. Hosack's soirée, where we met

Saturday 6th.
cont^d.

Mrs. Rush wife of Dr. Rush of Philadelphia the brother of the Envoy, his sons & daughters and about twenty of the principal people of New York. Mr. Owen at their request sent for his Plans & gave some [*] explanation of them. Several questions were put to him by a Mr. Colden one of this State's Public men, relative to the ambition & restlessness of Man; Dr. Hosack asked laughing whether Mr. Owen did not intend to do away with his Profession. Among the company were the Revd. Mr. Wainwright, Dr. Harris, Professor Griscomb, & other Professors of the College. I was received with much attention as I was acquainted with Captain Sabine R. A who staid in this town for some time. The Party broke up at 10 o'clock.

Saturday 6th
contd.

Sunday 7th.

Before Breakfast we began some letters to go by the Packet. [Mr. Baldwin & Mr. Bird a lawyer married to a french woman whom he has left in France, took us after Breakfast through the house, into the Ball & concert rooms, and to the top of the house, whence we had an extensive view.] At ten o'clock Mr. Day & Mr. Ludlow called. Mr. Owen went to Trinity church with Mr. Ludlow, and W. Owen and [*] myself accompanied Mr. Day to Grace church, considered the most fashionable in New York. I remarked that the congregation were very attentive, but I did not observe much fashion.—There are no clerks seated under the public as in England.—In the service a few alterations have been made. 'Those who' is put as a correction for 'Them that'; Selections are placed before the Psalms of the day; and Prayers are read for the President of the U. States, & sick persons & persons travelling by sea.—After church we left our cards at Dr. Hosack's, and Jeremiah Thompson's. The latter is one of the Owners of the Liverpool Packets.—We dined at the Hotel ordinary, and wrote letters in the [*] afternoon & evening. A Mr. Todd from Lanark and some others called.—Mr. Owen went to tea at Mr. Thomas's, where he met Mrs. Thomas, Judge & Mrs. Ogden who have property on the North river on the borders of Canada, and General Moore. He had an agreeable & interesting evening.

Monday 8th.

This morning we finished our letters. I wrote to my uncle, Aunt Annie, Wm. Crawford, my mother, Mr. Kem-

mis & to Skene. a little after 9 o'clock we called at Mr. Ogden & Day's counting house, and went down to the east end of the battery to see the steam boat start at 10 o'clock to take the letter bags and passengers on board the Packet which was laying too in the bay.—A bell rings to give notice & the steam boat starts precisely at 10 oclock.—We thence [*] went to Pearl Street & saw Mr. Marsh a merchant for whom Mr. Owen had a letter. We called likewise at the New York Bank, where Mr. Owen had 5 minutes conversation with Mr. Wilkes (descended from the famous Wilkes) cashier of the bank. He called by desire of Hunter Mr. Wilkes is a tall, stout, intelligent looking elderly man. We then went to the British consul's (Buchanan) Office in Nassau St. near the custom house. He had called upon Mr. Owen the day after his arrival. He told Mr. Owen that it was not customary for British consuls to make the 1st. call, but as for some years he had entertained the highest opinion of him & of the utility & benevolence of his views, he considered it the duty of every man who wished to benefit [*] his fellow creatures to step forward to receive him. He engaged us to dine with him tomorrow at four o'clock. Thence we went to Mr. Ludlow office where he met Mr. Thomas. We then returned to the Hotel, and went thence to Dr. Hosacks who shewed us his Library and the portraits of some of their patriots. Mr. Owen gave Miss Hosack for Mrs. Rush his letter to her husband. We then called at Mr. Thomas's 80 Chamber Street, where we saw Mrs. Thomas to whom the Lanark children's dresses had been sent. She seems a very intelligent [person]: We called on General Moore, a short good humoured old gentleman, thence we went to Grand St. & saw Miss Griscom. We were then puzzled finding the house of Mr. Hunter of Hunter's Island in [*] Broadway. He had not yet come to town. [We met Judge (MS blank) & Dr. Mitchell in the street. The Judge is a shrewd looking man. Dr. Mitchell is a fat jovial fellow, and expressed great interest in Mr. Owen's plans. He begged to be remem^d to Mr. Clinton, & to tell him to give his attention to the new views.] At 1/4 past one we called at Dr. McVicar's at the Columbia College. As Mr. Owen decided to go up to Albany for a

Monday 8th.
cont^d.

Monday 8th.
cont^d.

day to see De Wit Clinton, W^m. Owen returned to the Hotel to write to Hunter at Philadelphia to say that he should not reach that place for 3 or 4 days. The boat goes out at 2 o'clock. Dr. McVicar took us into a class room where Professor Kent was giving his introductory lecture on law, in which he gave a brief review of the U. States Constitution.—After the lecture Mr. Owen was introduced to several of the Professors. I was introduced to the Professor of Mathematics. We saw the library and were introduced to the Librarian. The library is at present of small extent. Dr. McVicar invited us to his house for [*] tomorrow evening—I then returned to the hotel for W^m. & we dined at Jeremiah Thomsons where we met Mr. Marshall, Mr. Clibborne, Young Harvey, Professor Griscom & some others. [It was at Mr. Marshall's house.] After dinner Mr. Thompson made a few objections to Mr. Owen's plan on the grounds of independence, liberty to pursue schemes of improvement, and having a stimulus for exertion. Mr. Owen engaged to go with him between 8 & 9 tomorrow morning to see Mr. Hall's school, some way out of town.—On our return to the hotel, Mr. Owen found a note from Mr. Ludlow inclosing letters to friends in Philadelphia & elsewhere. Mr. Grut brought letters for Harmony & we conversed about the western settlement & Mr. Owens plans. Mr. Owen went out to tea at Dr. McNiven [*] Mr. Houston, Editor of the Minerva & [MS blank], called in. He had been Editor of the Statesman, & was 2 years confined in Newgate for publishing his opinions. He brought a letter of introⁿ for Mr. Clinton. Judge Ogden & his nephew called. He came to offer his nephew's services to shew us the city. At supper he came in again with some friends, and had a long chat with Mr. Owen. He seems disposed to wish Mr. Owen settled in his neighbourhood, or to sell his lands.—

Tuesday 9th.

After breakfast Mr. Owen went to Jeremiah Thompson's while W^m. Owen & myself remained to write our Journals.—While we were writing a gentleman called who said that as he understood Mr. Owen wished to purchase land, he came to offer to sell him some. He was recommended to call when Mr. Owen was in. [*] Judge Edwards called to

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contd.)

acknowledge the receipt of a letter of introduction. He remained till Mr. Owen returned with Mr. Marshall. He is a very intelligent middle aged man, and seemed to have many of Mr. Owen's opinions. He hoped to see us on our return.—Mr. Owen had been with Mr. Marshall to Mr. Hall's school. Mr. Hall is a very intelligent person, and adopts the system of tuition by sensible signs. Mr. Owen took his plans to Mr. Marshall's house, where he shewed them to him, to Mr. Hall & J. Thompson. When he had finished the latter said 'Now I begin to see my way.' Mr. Owen returned with Mr. Hall whom he left with W^m. to converse on the subject & talk about Fellenberg's & Pestalozzi's school, and went with me to Col. Willot's to call upon Mr. & Mrs. De Wi[n]t.—Mrs. Dewi[n]t is sister to a Mr. Smith who is attached to Mr. Rush's Embassy in London. She is also grand daughter [*] of the late President Adams. Col. Willots lives in a distant part of the town near the East River. We found Mr. Dewint a clean agreeable person, and the Col. an old officer above 80 years old. He was full of the extraordinary changes which he had witnessed during his lifetime in New York, and said that he expected mail coaches would in 40 or 50 years cross the whole continent of America.—On our way back we called at Mr. Hunter of Hunter's Island in Broad Way. He had gone out for the purpose of calling upon Mr. Owen. We then went to Dr. Blacheley, the gentleman with whom we went the first evening of our arrival, to his society of commonwealth. The Doctor keeps an apothecary's Shop at 467 Greenwich St.—He shewed us Mr. Jefferson's letter to him in 1822, approving of communities individually, but disapproving of them for a State, as he thought we should always have brambles & thorns among mankind, and not expect to have all men vines and olives. [*] We went at four o'clock to dine at the British consul's Buchanan. There we met Mr. Mannors, consul at Boston & related to the English Archbishop, and his daughter, and Mrs. Buchanan & a large family. Mr. Buchanan is an Irishman a strong head & enthusiastic heart. He is full of religious feeling. The young ladies were much interested with the description of Lanark schools. Mr. Buchanan has

some plans for civilizing the Indians. Mr. Manners is a pleasing man. At 8 o'clock we went to Dr. McVicar's where we met a few ladies & some of the Professors. Dr. Hosack's son told me that on Hunter's return from Europe, he was not so much at his ease in society as before he crossed the Atlantic. He had the peculiar habit of the Indians of never keeping his eyes fixed, but wandering with them from object to object. Mr. Owen conversed for some time with some of the gentlemen. On our return the Driver of the Coach required Seven Dollars [*] for his fare.—At the hotel supper, I had a long conversation with a Col McLeod who said he was a descendant from Macleod of Macleod. He knew Macleod of Colbecks.

Wednesday 10th

At Breakfast Mr. Baldwin & Mr. Griswold recommended us to proceed to Albany by the morning steam boat at 10, instead of the 5 o'clock P. M. boat. We therefore packed up a change of dress, and started by the 10 o'clock boat. Just before we set out, Jacob Harvey called & gave Mr. Owen a letter to Mr. Clinton, and expressed his regret that his friend Mr. Muller was not to set out till the evening boat. He gave me the following list of the dinner party at J. Thompson's on the 8th. Jer^h Thompson, Benjⁿ Marshall, John Griscom, Joshua Clibborn, Joseph Walker, Samuel Thompson, Jonas Marshall, David Crowther, John Grimshaw, Jacob Harvey.—We had 70 or 80 persons on board the Steam boat. The front cabin was for gentlemen, the after one for ladies. The fare to Albany 3 dollars including dinner and tea. This was the opposition boat set up last summer. The original [*] company was Leviston & Fulton who had a monopoly granted by the State. Those gentlemen who wished to dine with the ladies had to apply to the captain for tickets. The rest without distinction occupied the deck & fore cabin. Every body appeared disposed to be accommodating, and although there were rich and poor, yet little inconvenience was experienced. There was a stove in each of the cabins which with the heat of the Engine & smell of the oil, produced a hot & close air and disagreeable smell. As there were few ladies on board, one half of their cabin was shut out by folding doors, and in this part we got quiet and very clean & comfortable births at night.—The day was very

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10th cont'd)

clear & fine, and the weather mild. A great number of vessels were under weigh, and several sloops beating up the river. The whole day excepting about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an hour we were upon deck, passing forward & aft & from side to side admiring the scenery. Both banks of the Hudson river [*] are well wooded. The left bank consists of round hills and undulating lands, thickly covered with country houses & farms for several miles. We saw the opening of the river which makes the island of Van Hatten on which New York stands. The right bank is for several miles up the river high & rocky with a vertical stratification, In some places from 5 to 600 ft. high crowned with pines. [The rocks are called the Pallisadoes] In places the river opens to the breadth of 4 or 5 miles. At West Point it is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide with a high ridge of mountains on either side through which it seems to have forced its way. Some of the highest & most remarkable points have peculiar names.—On an elevated flat where the river makes an elbow, stands the Military academy and a number of houses of persons attached to this department of the government. On a lofty point above stands a castle, overlooking [*] the academy, and commanding both up & down the river. It was here that during the revolutionary war a chain was drawn across the river, which British men of war sailed up to & cut through. During the last war, this castle was nearly lost by treachery. The scenery through these highlands was magnificent. Though none of the hills could be above 15 or 1800 ft. high, yet their forms were fine and their descents abrupt. Covered with native forests they seemed at times so to shut in the magnificent river we were gliding over at the rate of 10 miles an hour, that we were puzzled to guess in which direction we should pass through them. Every here & there a sudden turn would open to our view a long reach of the river, displaying a landscape difficult to exceed any where in beautiful combination, Mountains, wood, meadow or water. On some of the rocky banks, were mills, farms, and the [*] houses of wood cutters.—Our boat was abundantly supplied with pine wood, and at night, the sparks might be seen flying off in great quantities. The awning over the boat was drilled

with holes burnt through by the sparks of wood falling upon it. This might be remedied by putting some composition upon it. There is a great advantage in burning wood as it is so free from smoke and dust. In the evening we came to Newburg on the right bank. A straggling place built chiefly of wood, about 60 miles above New York. The river is here about 2 miles wide. Opposite is Fishkill, where Mr. Dewint resides. After the night set in we could see but little, but the banks did not appear very high,—They were well wooded.—The boat landed and took in passengers at several places. This was done without stopping the steam. A small boat was lowered, and a rope fastened to it was let [*] out sufficiently to allow it to reach the landing place, while at the same time it was drawn forward. When it stopped, rope was continued to be let out from the steam boat till the fresh passengers had got into it, and then the whole was drawn up to the vessel. We retired to our births about 10 o'clock.

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contd.)

Thursday 11th.

At 4 o'clock this morning we reached the landing place at Albany. Here the river is not above 1/2 a mile wide, and the channel in the center very narrow. It sometimes happens that thick fogs come on, & on such occasions vessels are obliged to come to anchor. The land on both sides of the river slopes gradually down to the water's edge, with forests of oak & yellow & white pine mixed. A great part of the land has been cleared and presents a great quantity of cultivated Country. About 1/2 past 5 a bell was rung to rouse the passengers [*] and at 6 o'clock a second one for those going in the coach up to the Canal which crosses the country to Lake Erie. The difference of level between the Hudson river at Albany & the waters of Lake Erie is 662 ft. This Canal was executed by the State of New York, at the instigation of Mr. Clinton.—We landed and went to the Eagle Hotel where we were accommodated in a fine large bedroom. Here we found an ordinary well arranged and attended by 40 or 50 persons, at which we breakfasted at Eight—After breakfast Mr. Owen went out to call on Mr. Clinton while W^m & myself remained to write our journal. In 1/2 an hour he returned to take a coach to visit the Shakers establishment of Watervliet near Niskayuna.

He had seen Mr. Clinton and engaged to be with him tomorrow at 10 o'clock.—The coaches have rounded tops, & the sides [*] are made of leather to roll up in hot weather. This construction, however, renders them cold in winter. Albany is the capital & seat of the government of the State of New York, is a large town, originally a dutch settlement, built in a very irregular straggling manner along the right bank of the river on the side of the hill. The streets are extremely muddy and the pavement very bad. Much business appeared to be doing. On the northern skirts of the town stands the house of Major General the Hon^{ble} Stephen Van Rensselaer, called Patron, proprietor of a large extent of country, and the last of the entail. The Shakers of Watervliet rent their lands from him at 8 bushells of wheat for every 100 acres. We called upon him and were shewn into a very good house kept remarkably clean. He is a tall thin [*] old gentleman remarkably polite & polished in his manners. He talked of the state of the country, and his desire to improve it, and presented Mr. Owen with 3 books of a geological & agricultural survey of Rensselaer county & the land adjoining the Canal. He engaged us to dinner tomorrow between 3 & 4 o'clock. He spoke of a cotton mill in the neighbourhood, which he said from some mismanagement was not thriving, while those in some other states were showing a dividend of from 20 to 30 per cent.—From the Patron's house we ascended in a south westerly direction, a sandy road through an oak & pine wood over a ridge of small hills. From this road we could see the vale of the Hudson and a part of the town of Albany which we were leaving; and before us lay in the distance the Catskill Mountains near which we had passed in the night, bounding an extensive [*] vale covered with wood, looking beautiful with its varied tints and evergreen timber. The day was mild & clear, while scattered clouds cast picturesque shades over the extended landscape. We soon got into a bad road through the wood, and as the coach could not go fast on account of the stumps of trees, we got out and walked. The fences are simple consisting of pallisades laid one upon the other, the ends being supported on two stakes fixed in the ground & crossed near the top. Each length forms the

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contd.)

face of a zigzag thus W W W . In the wood we passed a farm with some dozen acres cleared around it.—The Establishment of Shakers at Watervliet contains near one hundred persons, nearly equally divided into males and females. It is situated on a flattish piece of land. The houses though neatly built and looking very clean, are [*] not arranged in any regular form. Some are made of wood & some of brick. We drove up to one of the houses, and were received at the door by a respectable elderly female dressed in a brown coloured dress. Mr. Clinton had given Mr. Owen a letter of introduction to the Society, which he delivered and was led into a small neat room, with small woolen carpets on the floor, the walls white, the wood work stained a brownish red colour & the chairs of stained wood, the seats of them of strips of ash wood, and the window blinds of a blue stuff. The room was warmed by a neat stove made for boiling, & washing. It was manufactured in Albany. To ventilate the room there was an opening in the wall near the floor. We sat and conversed some minutes with this sister who had a chair with the feet so made as to rock back & forward. An old decent looking man dress[ed] in drab-coloured coat & wai[s]tcoat & brick coloured trowsers came in & sat conversing with us while the female handed round a pleasant sweet liquor made [*] with honey [called methylin].—The male then conducted us into the building where the workshops were. The first a small room was for carpenters & joiners work. The room was warmed by a stove. Here we found one man making whips. He appeared intelligent and cheerful. In the next room we found some coopers' work. Above was a shoemaker's shop, a turner's room, & a taylor's shop. In one room we remained some time. They shewed us some silver pens made by them, and some white clay pipes and tubes made of wood. We shewed them our silver pens which they appeared very curious to examine, and sent for one of their brethren skilled in that branch of work. They made us a present of half a dozen pipes and three tubes. In the taylor's room we found two boys whom they had received into their Society to educate in their principles. A seafaring gentleman joined our party, and we went into their [*] blacksmith's

shop which was fitted up neatly for their purposes. While in the shop a brother came to say that dinner was waiting. We then went to another building larger than those we had been in. We were shewn into a small neat room where a clean table had been covered with a nice dinner of beefsteaks, boiled beef, pork & vegetables, sweets, apples, apple tarts, squash, softbread, good cheese & butter, & excellent cider. On a side table was a large bason of warm water and a towel to wash before dinner. We were served by two elderly sisters who were neatly dressed with light striped brown handkerchiefs & brown petticoats. They seemed most anxious to make every thing agreeable to us. After dinner they conducted us through their kitchen, dining room scullery, pantry, & bedrooms. Every thing was remarkably neatly arranged & well contrived, On one side of a gallery were the sleeping rooms of the females and on the other those of the [*] males. The floors were well made, kept extremely clean, and covered with small woolen carpets. The beds in which two sleep were very neat & all of their own manufacture. They informed us that they never quarrelled though they sometimes differed. They took it in turns to cook & serve the rest for about a month, half a dozen females at a time. They found it very pleasant work. We saw two good looking young women, who said that they were extremely happy, and had been there since they were children.—We took our leave of the six simple & good natured cooks, and accompanied two of the males into another building, where we found six females weaving. Three of them were rather elderly, and the other three young. They told us that they wove all that was required for their own family and [*] gave away a good deal. Mr. Owen described to them that he had some plans for communities of from 500 to 2000. They remarked that if they went on encreasing by taking children in and educating them, or by receiving grown up persons into their community, as fast as they had done of late; they should soon have as great a number as he proposed. They appeared much interested with the subject, and became open & easy in their manners, displaying a mildness, amiability & good sense, which was extremely agreeable. We then went to a

(Thursday 11th.
contd.)

small tannery where two were at work. They said that it was a healthy occupation. To our enquiries how they regulated the different occupations, and whether some did not dislike the dirty or most toilsome occupations, they said that some had a choice of trades, but that many were quite indifferent in that respect. [They informed us that some of them were always travelling to see their friends & that the society furnished willingly the funds required for these journeys.] We saw the Piggery, and some [*] of the finest swine we had ever seen, weighing 4 or 5 cwts. They feed them on mashed Indian corn fomented from 24 to 40 hours before feeding. We went next to the thrashing machine, the house for keeping their corn dry, the cider presses, and the school house, over which in a loft they keep seeds, which are their principal object of trafic. Lindley Murray's Exercises, is one of the books I saw there; but all the children were out. They told us that they make very little for sale, being chiefly occupied in working for themselves. From the school we went through the wash-house, laundry, & cellar where we saw a good supply of cider. All The linen appeared very good & substantial. We then returned to the first house, purchased two silver pens, a whip, and an octavo vol. containing the [*] history of their sect, and took our leave of three or four of the males and two females who had assembled together there, and gave them our Cards,—Mr. Owen telling them they should hear more of him, & that he would if possible send them some of his publications to read. They mentioned that there were about 16 of their Societies in America, and we told them we intended to visit their brethren in the western states. We asked one of them how they got clothes when they wanted any? whether they went into the tailor's shop and asked for them? He replied that last year they wanted to give him so much, that at length he would take no more, as he could not wear out what he had.—They said that no one worked more than he was well able and [*] willing to do, and that if anyone were unwell they had one of their family a very skilful doctor. Several of their members they said, were out at their farms at some distance; and they added that we should see much more at one of their societies at

(Thursday 11th
contd)

Lebanon 30 miles off if we went there. [Such articles as they did not produce themselves & could get from their Society at New Lebanon (which is 25 miles from them & was established in 1787) they procured by exchange of produce on the principle of equal quantities of labour; By which means money and bargaining were dispensed with.] On our return to Albany we walked up to the State House, where we were very politely shewn the chamber of representatives & the senate's room. The rooms were handsome. A Portrait of Washington ornamented the former, and one of Mr. Jefferson the latter. We were likewise shewn the library, a small collection in a small room; but here we were told any person might come and read from morning till night. [*] They are building a large brick theater, and there is a large academy near the State house. We drank tea & supped at the Ordinary. Several representatives & one or two Senators were there, besides travellers & persons having business during the session. They were quite engrossed with electioneering topics of conversation.—We found both the landlord & attendants very attentive to us.

Temperature at 1/2 past 7 this morning outside our bed room window—25°—After breakfast Mr. Owen called upon the governor of the State with a letter of introduction. He was invited by him to dinner tomorrow, which he declined, intending to leave Albany in the morning. We then called at 10 o'clock on Mr. Clinton in Pearl Street. He is a tall, stout, benevolent [*] looking man about sixty. We left Mr. Owen with him, and walked along the banks of the canal to the second lock. The canal is 40 ft. wide, the masonry of the locks is of lime stone well put together. The vale of the Hudson is very beautiful, and the day being fine we enjoyed our walk. Soon after our return the Patron called.—A little before 2 o'clock we went to the State House. Mr. Owen had a letter of introduction to two members, Mr. Crolius & Mr. Wheaton. We were admitted into the Chamber of Representatives, where we heard some debating relative to the choice of electors. At 3 o'clock they adjourned.—We dined at the Patrons, where we met his wife, son and daughter, Mr. Clinton and three other gentlemen. Mr. Clinton gave Mr. Owen letters of intro-

Friday 12th.

duction to Gen^l. Jackson & Mr. Jefferson. He retired early in the evening. Mr. Owen shewed his plans and gave some explanations. A young [*] gentleman made a variety of trifling objections.—[One of the company told me that he was in England for nine years & educated at Harrow. Lord Byron was his school fellow.] Mr. Rensselaar told me that he spent 2 years (15 & 16) in Scotland & was well acquainted with Douglas of Thilly Whitley.—The members whom we heard speak in the Chamber of Representatives were Mess^{rs}. Flag, Crolius, Wheaton, Waterman, Livingston, & Mullet. They seemed plain men and spoke straight forward. Mr. Crolius told us that he had been a member of all the chambers since he was 26 years old. He is a man of between 50 & 60.

Saturday 13th.

[The thermometer at the same time & place this morning 22°.] At breakfast a Mr. Hammond claimed acquaintance with Owen & thanked him for kind attentions to him three years ago when he was at New Lanark. He is of one of the best families in New York. He gave Mr. Owen a letter of introduction then. A quarter before 10 we left Albany in the Kent Steam boat belonging to the original line of Fulton & Livingston. It was excellent in its accommodations, much larger than the Hudson, and without the least unpleasant smell. A [*] smaller boat took us three miles down the river to the Steam boat, as it drew too much water to come up to the town. The Hudson started just after us. As it is not nearly so large it kept close to us at starting, but when the river became wider & deeper we left it behind. The landing & embarking persons at the several places of call, were performed without stopping the Steam boat, in a clean & expeditious manner by a small boat & ropes to let out & pull in. The latter was easily done by a wheel turned by the great Engine. Mr. Owen was introduced to a Mr. Bird of Philadelphia, a gentleman of some property who was proposing to purchase some lands in the neighbourhood of the Hudson & settle there. He had some conversation with Mr. Owen & expressed a wish to join him. We met two of the gentlemen of our party when we came up the river. [*] They had been for the two days visiting the aqueduct a few miles from Albany, which

(Saturday 13th.
cont^d)

conveys the canal over the river. One of them Mr. Hill said he was cashier of the bank at Hoboken ferry opposite to New York, and invited us to visit him. [He recommended us to get Professor Everett's Oration delivered before La Fayette. Mr. Clinton recommended us to get 'The Ohio Navigator' at Pittsburgh.] I conversed with a Mr. Gardner who expressed a hope that when we went more East he should see us. He spoke of some thriving Salt works, seemed rejoiced that Mr. Clinton had gained the election, and seemed to enter warmly into the idea of better educating society. There were above 100 passengers, much more respectable than the party we had coming up. We dined & drank tea in the ladies' cabin, where every thing was neatly & conveniently & abundantly provided. The party seemed to behave with very good manners. The scenery which we lost in the night coming up, we now saw by day. The banks in general are not [*] high, nor the soil very good. Timber of various sorts grows on them, and several neat & pretty country houses vary and enliven the scenery of the banks. There are some houses of considerable size, and large grounds around them, built on picturesque sites; particularly on the east bank. Passing Catskill we had a good view of the Catskill Mountains about 10 or 12 miles west. On or near the top of one of the peaks a summer tavern was built two years ago, which is resorted to in the heat of summer. In winter it is shut up, as no one then attempts to live in so cold a situation. These mountains are covered with wood, and the view from them is very extensive & beautiful. Their height is from 2 to 3000 ft.—Nearly opposite the landing place to go to Catskill, on the east bank, are the houses of the Livingston family. [*] We landed at Newburg 1/4 before 8 in the evening. The waiter of the Orange Hotel was on Mr. De Winnt's information waiting to conduct us to the hotel, the best in the place, & belonging to Mr. DeWint. This was, before the canal was made, a great port for shipments of produce from the western counties of this state. Since the opening of the canal, this business has gone into that new channel & all is at a stand at Newburg. The population is about 3,100. The whole of this day was beautifully

Sunday 14th.
Nov—

clear; the air cold.—While on our way in the Steam boat I read Mr. Clinton's small pamphlet, which he had given Mr. Owen to shew his view of Education. It is a discourse which he delivered at a literary Society, and is merely a strong and earnest recommendation of searching after knowledge. [*] After breakfast we crossed the river in the horse (team) boat; and found Mr. & Mrs. Dewint just setting out to Church. A Mr. Dewint was with them. The church was about half a mile from the house and of the Reformed Dutch, very similar to the Presbyterian form of worship. The preacher, a young man of considerable talents, preached a very strong Calvinistic doctrine, and informed his hearers that every thing was to be by faith & not by observation. The congregation were very respectable in appearance, & many came in gigs and light spring waggons. There might be between 100 & 200 present. After church we accompanied Mr. Dewint to Fishkill Creek [Kill in Dutch means creek], under the highlands to see Mr. Schank's Cotton & Woolen Factories at Matteawan. It being Sunday no one was at work, but a young man [*] at the place shewed us through the building. Then we took a short walk by a Mr. Nevill's who joined our party and returned with [us] to Mr. Dewint's to dinner where we met another gentleman. The land round this neighbourhood is for the most part cultivated, and the timber cut down. There are many orchards. The locust & willow are fine trees, but the latter preserves her leaves long after the frost strips other trees. The highlands, however, are still for the most part covered with pine & some other forest wood, though much has been cut so as to render the trees small. The view from Mr. Dewint's is very fine, commanding the river, the opening in the highlands, leading to West point, and the town of Newburgh. A small point of land of 40 acres in size projecting out into the river, having a good house built upon it & surrounded by a belt of trees, forms a very picturesque object in the foreground.—Mr. Dewint is about 40 years old, a plain man, but active and intelligent. Mrs. Dewint is a pleasing, amiable lady, grand daughter of President Adams. They have five girls.—Her brother is attached to the Embassy in England.—The Principles of the

Adams' family has always been to allow of no private or family connexions to influence their public conduct. After dinner Mr. Owen shewed his plans to them, and to Mr. Schank & another gentleman who came in. They were extremely pleased. We all retired to bed before 10 o'clock.

After breakfast, we went in Mr. Dewint's spring
waggon, which commonly carries 4 persons, to Mr. Schank's
manufactory. There we were shewn the whole establishment
from the foundery & the workshops to the weaving. The
females appeared extremely clean, well dressed and well
behaved. He employs above 100 persons, [*] who reside in
very neat wooden houses near to the factory. There is
a store where a great variety of articles are kept for the
convenience of the population. We bought worsted mittens
for our use during our western tour. Mr. Schank's partner
Mr. Lennard accompanied us, and we experienced every
attention from those gentlemen. They are endeavouring to
introduce every improvement in their machinery, and their
workmen frequently make improvements themselves. The
cotton & wool which they use is American & very good. Upon
the whole it appears to be a thriving establishment. The
day was too rainy to ascend the hill, from the top of which
in clear weather the prospect must be beautiful; a road has
been made up and a pole erected on the best point for
commanding an extensive prospect.—We had a [*] pleasant
dinner party & conversation with the Dewints, and eat most
excellent venison. They appeared very much interested for
Mr. Owen's success in his plans.—Mr. Lennard while
walking through the works told me, that when Mr. Schank's
returned home the last evening, he kept him up till
between 12 & 1 o'clock giving a delightful account of
Mr. Owen's plans. He told me when I expressed how much
I was pleased with the good appearance of their work
people, that when a girl did not shew a disposition to be
clean & neat in her dress they turned her off.—It is very
right to attend to these points; but I must here remark
that Mr. Lennard betrayed by this speech his want of
acquaintance with the method of forming good characters
among his [*] people, as well as of Mr. Owen's views on
this subject. [Mr. Lennard informed me that they cover

Monday 15th.

(Monday 15th
Nov^r. contd)

their houses with shingles of white pine which will last above 20 years, instead of slates. They pay about 3 dollars a square.] Between five and six we took leave of our kind friends with mutual good wishes & hopes of meeting next year, and crossed in a sail boat in 6 or 7 minutes to Newburgh, where we waited till half past 8 o'clock & then went out in a large boat, as soon as the distant light of the Steam boat appeared, and were safely put on board the Chancellor Livingston Steam boat of the Old Line, a fine vessel, nearly equal to the Kent.—We found it full, and could only obtain the smallest & worst births in the fore cabin.—[We had intended to visit West Point Academy but the weather being bad, rainy & the wind against us, we were obliged to forego this pleasure, but I hope we shall hereafter visit it. The States government are desirous of supporting such establishments in order to have officers acquainted with military duties in case of a future war. Besides a variety of useful studies, the cadets are annually marched away from the Academy for several days, and encamped. They likewise, I understand, reconnoitre the country & take elevations &c of the mountains.] We met Mr. Clinton on board who appeared very friendly & introduced Mr. Owen to a Col. Sullivan from the banks of the Ohio. I met on board Lt. Bolton of the Royal Engineers a brother officer with whom I had served in France—[*] We had an agreeable conversation for above an hour about our profession & old acquaintances. We were routed about 6 o'clock by a bell for landing the Steam boat having reached the North quai between four & five o'clock. We got bed rooms & a sitting room at the City Hotel and wrote letters for the Packet which sailed at 10 o'clock. There were letters for Mr. Owen which had come under cover to Jer^h. Thompson & the other Proprietors of the Packet. One contained a letter for me from Mr^s. Kemmis. I wrote a short one to acknowledge its receipt, and one to Mr. Mason. A little before ten I took them to Mr. Ogden & Day's counting house. They were very happy to see us. The morning was extremely warm and rainy. Mr. Schank his brother, & his son in law, called, and were very polite. The brother appeared extremely desirous of knowing Mr. Owen's

Tuesday 16th.

plan. Mr. Schank had brought cloth to shew for the premium, [*] and his brother engaged to call upon Mr. Owen & take him tomorrow to see the exhibition before the public day. They expressed a hope that the deceptive system of sales by auction of merchandise would soon be abolished in this City.—Judge Ogden afterwards called & gave Mr. Owen a paper & plan, descriptive of his property near lake Erie & on the Saint Lawrence. He expressed his wish to see us there next summer. He then took us down and introduced us to Mr., Mrs. & Miss Waddington, who have hired appartments in this hotel for the winter. Mrs. Waddington is the Judge's sister. They have a beautiful country seat 12 miles from the city. Mrs. W. said that on our return she should feel most happy to introduce us to Mr. Wilkes' family, the most agreeable she thought in New York. Mr. Jeffries the Editor of the [*] Edinburgh Review married Mr. Wilkes' daughter. When in New York he disappointed the great expectations which he had raised, as he shewed much ignorance of the world and often repeated at one house what he heard of persons at another, thus creating himself many enemies. Mrs. Waddington gave us a general invitation to call in upon them when we pleased. A portly quaker called upon Mr. Owen to offer some lands in the Ohio for sale. I called at the British consul's office, but he had returned home in consequence of the news of a daughter's ill health. I asked at the Albion news office for Mr. Houston, and met Mr. Manners who informed me that he would set off tomorrow, on his return to Boston. The Albion Editor said he Believed Mr. Houston & Mr. Coleman wrote for the Evening Post; and that the latter wrote his articles [*] in the singular number, & the former in the plural. Mr. Owen called upon Mr. Bayard & engaged to dine there tomorrow at five o'clock. We dined at the Ordinary; and after dinner called on Jer^h. Thompson, who received us in a friendly manner. We then drank tea with Mr. & Mrs. Thomas, where we met Mr. Ludlow. Mr. Thomas is to sail for Orleans tomorrow morning. From Mr. Thomas's we accompanied Mr. Ludlow to Mr. Ogden's, brother of the Judge. He is a merchant. Miss Ogden a fine young person left us to go to an evening party. The Judge's lady came

(Tuesday 16th
cont^d)

in. She is a large animated & warmhearted person. She has a large family and is much interested with the description of the New Lanark schools. She gave me a [*] long account of the manner in which they entertained the British officers, who during the war crossed with flags from Upper Canada to their island in the river St. Lawrence between lake Erie & the Fall of Niagara. We returned home about 9 o'clock.

Wednesday 17th.

After breakfast Mr. Owen went with his son to call on Mr. Griscom where he met Mr. Eddey, and had an interesting discussion. I walked with my brother officer Lt. Bolton to a hair dresser's, and to look at some views of the Hudson river. The price of each is 5 dollars, an excessive price. I purchased Professor Everett's Oration delivered at the Phi Beta Kappa Society, and a copy of the 1st. Introductory work on English reading called 'The New York Reader' by a [*] teacher of the name of Murray. I had seen it in the Shakers' school, and much admired the simple & natural progression of intelligible and progressive sentences. This I made up in a parcel for my sister Mrs. Bridges & entrusted it to my brother officer.—On our return to the hotel Mr. Day called, and Mr. Buchanan the B. Consul, the latter to express his wish to read to Mr. Owen a paper on the subject of civilizing the Indians, which he did not wish to put to press or sent to Mr. Clinton till he had the advice of a person of his experience. Mr. Mallard called, and I had an amusing conversation with him & my brother officer, relative to giving me a certificate of sanity. The [*] latter was in Ireland when I accompanied Mr. Owen there, and heard that I had gone mad; the former said that one could not pass a whole month at sea in the same ship without discovering a person's madness, were he insane.—Jacob Harvey called & gave me his address.—Mr. Owen on his way back, called at Dr. Hosack's where he met De Witt Clinton. They were extremely glad to see him, & gave him several letters of introduction. Mr. Owen afterwards went to Mr. Buchanan's office, and heard that gentleman read a manuscript on the subject of civilizing the Indians, the outlines of which he highly approved of. I called with William Owen on Mr. Abram Ogden, & left the pattern dresses of the Lanark school children for the family to see. At one o'clock

(Wednesday 17th.
Nov^r cont^d)

Mr. Schank's [*] brother called and conducted us to the Artillery store where they were arranging the lower floor, with a variety of goods of American manufacture for the examination by a committee tomorrow. This is the second year of this exhibition, which has been instituted by a society of persons for the purpose of stimulating domestic industry & home manufactures. In consequence of the failure of funds, the plan had nearly fallen to the ground this year as no prizes could be afforded; but it was settled that certificates would answer the same purpose without the expense. We were shewn several pieces of very good black, blue, grey & olive cloth, umbrellas almost the first of American manufacture, and having a good likeness of La Fayette on the handle, glass, straw bonnets, hats, [*] and printed silks—All a very promising display. We were introduced to several of the Principal manufacturers, and afterwards taken through the Armoury for 10,000 stand of Arms on the floor above. The American musket appears to be better finished than the British, and instead of having the barrel fastened with pins to the stock, has 3 iron bands with springs to keep them in their places. [We saw Mr. Wilkens Mr. Schencks son in law at the store. He is to be one of our party tomorrow to set out for Philadelphia at 11 o'clock.] On our return we called at Dr. Mc. Nevan's. He is Professor of chemistry, we found him in his study. He shewed us his class room. He is a short stout, middle aged, sprightly intelligent person, highly favorable to Mr. Owen's views. We afterwards left our cards at Dr. McVicar's.—On our way back to the Hotel, we overtook two Shakers from New Lebanon. They had heard of Mr. Owen's visit to Liskeyuna, and guessed they were [*] talking to himself. They were very open & independent in manner, were friendly in their expressions, & hoped to see him at their establishment. They had heard of New Lanark and expressed a wish to see it. At 5 o'clock we went to dine at Mr. Bayard's in Greenwich near the State Prison. We met the Spanish general Carlos de Alvear, from Buenos Ayres. He is son of the general of that name, married to an English lady, who resided at La Tola, while the British troops were in Cadiz & that place. Mr. Owen had a

(Wednesday 17th.
Nov^r. cont^d)

discussion with him relative to his plans. The general was born in one of the Reductions in Paraguay, while his father was employed as commissioner settling their limits. He says that they still go on, though the Jesuits have been abolished, and now have the advantage of receiving the knowledge which is getting among them from Europe. The general described them as [*] being in comfortable circumstances, though without possession much knowledge of the improvements in European Arts; he added that they were all equal, without any of them being either masters or servants. He got a list of Mr. Owen's several publications, for which he said he should write to England. We likewise met a Mr. Ogden a brother of the Judge & of Mr. Abram Ogden, and his son Abram who gave me a letter of introduction to a friend of his at Philadelphia, a Mr. William M Meredith Esq.—Mr. Clibborn & his lady & a french gentleman.—On our return Mr. Owen found a letter from Mr Hunter of Hunter's Island inviting him there. [The hackney coaches are made to open all round in warm weather, and to shut in with leather sides in winter. They are kept in good order. Many of the drivers are Irishmen.]

Thursday 18th.
Nov^r.

While we were packing up this morning, Judge Ogden called. He gave Mr. Owen a letter of introduction to Mr. Munro, the present President, and expressed a strong desire to see us next spring at his country house. Just before we came away, I met [*] Lt. Cookson of the Artillery on his way to England on leave of Absence.—We left New York at 11 o'clock from the north end of the Battery in a Steam boat for New Brunswick. The boat was not very large nor very full of passengers. Mr. Ludlow accompanied us on board and introduced us to Mr. and Mrs. Loyd & her Mother, who were on their way from Boston to Philadelphia. Mr. Loyd is an elderly gentleman; he is a senator; his lady appeared a very agreeable intelligent person. Mr. Schenck & several ladies came on board with the new married couple Mr. & Mrs. Wilkens. Our course lay past Staten Island through a narrow channel called the Kills, and thence up a small, winding river to New Brunswick. The day was cold, but extremely clear & fine. The country on both sides was nearly flat. In some parts extensive flat meadows,

which grew a long grass, of which they make hay which is left on the ground until a hard frost enables them to cut it away. Cattle are very fond of its salt flavour, In other parts woods every here & there cleared away for small fields & little farmhouses. [*] Along the banks were sometimes to be seen small country houses, with a few weeping willows & poplars around them. Occasionally we stopped at a village or landing place to take in or let out passengers. We passed 3 or 4 steam boats going to New York. At Brunswick we landed at 4 o'clock, and got into 4 horse-stages which were waiting, and immediately set off on the road to Trenton, which lies on the left bank of the Delaware and six or eight & twenty miles from Brunswick. [As the stage could not carry all our baggage, a great part of it was left to be sent in the baggage waggon which they informed us would cross to Trenton the same evening.] The latter place [Brunswick] we could not well see, as we did not go quite up to the town; but it seems a small, busy town. The road lay for the most part through oak woods, here & there cleared away for farm houses & a few fields. The soil did not appear very rich; the road was badly made & deep in a red sand. About half way we changed horses, & passed through a village of the name of Princeton, where there is an Academy, and a Theological Seminary.—A little before 9 o'clock we passed through Trenton in the dark, and put up at the Ferry Hotel near the river Delaware. Here we had a good supper & beds.

At five o'clock we went in the stage across the [*] bridge at Trenton & about 8 or 10 miles down the right bank of the river to where the Philadelphia Steam boat was waiting for us. The river is not deep enough to admit of large steam boats going up to Trenton, except at high water. We got under way at 7 o'clock, and reached Philadelphia at half past 10 o'clock. [The stages are not well made, the leathern sides let in the wind, the springs are bad, and as they have benches in the middle without any back to them, & carry 9 inside, they may be fairly called uncomfortable vehicles.] The country on both sides of the river was flat, but appeared to be of a better soil, and was more cleared and cultivated. It had the appearance of having

Friday 19th.
Nov^r.

been longer settled. The country houses, farms, & villages along the banks of the river, resembled Dutch settlements. Many of them, though small, were neat; & I should think that the whole scenery would be pleasing in the verdure of spring. A few miles below Trenton Joseph Bounaparte, the exking of Spain, whom the Spaniards called Pepe Botillas, has purchased a nice place where he lives retired from the world, enjoying the society of a few friends. A passenger on board the Steam boat, informed me that he was much beloved & respected by the country [*] people in his neighbourhood and constantly employed a great many workmen. When he arrived first at Philadelphia he heard that some poor people had a most beautiful daughter. He offered the mother 10,000 dollars for her daughter, which was accepted, and she now lives with him. We breakfasted on board the Steam boat on our way down the river; the mother and her second daughter (a pretty young woman) were among the company. A passenger asked the captain, how much he thought the fat lady weighed; the ready reply was 10,000.—The distance down is about 30 miles; halfway we stopped at a pretty village called Bristol. One of the villas on the river side was pointed out to me as the residence of Mr. Cooper the leading American Actor. Nearly opposite to Bristol is the village of Burlington. The river widens considerably at Philadelphia and the sides appear marshy. Here it may be three quarters of a mile wide with a steamboat ferry across to Camden, a small village on the Delaware side. Wooden quais line the river side, and the water is so deep that [*] large vessels lay close to them. The warehouses are of brick—Two large & lofty ones with a large house beyond them, and two fine large ships abreast of the quai, were pointed out to us as belonging to Mr. Stephen Girard the banker, and richest ready money man in the U. States. We saw only two church spires and one unfinished top to a Lutheran place of worship. Lower down the river we saw a large building, the covering we were told of a seventy four, building on so large a scale as to be fit to carry 140 guns. Several vessels lay along the sides of the quais, and we saw others on the stocks.—We landed

(Friday 19th.
Novr. contd.)

without difficulty and a black porter with a badge on his hat, took our things on a wheel barrow to South Third Street, to the Mansion house Hotel, Chester Bailey to whom notice had been given by post the day before. The streets are all at right angles, have good brick footways on each side, and occasionally a few trees. The houses are irregularly built, but appear neat & clean. The street pavement, is bad, and we made a remark on our way to the hotel that they are bad paviments in this country, as far as we had seen. [*] In a boarding house No. 89 South third Street we saw Hunter. He is short, rather sallow complexioned, and not stout. This appearance might be the consequence of a severe inflammation of the lungs from which he is but just recovering. He gave me much the idea of an officer of the Navy. He was delighted to see Mr. Owen & gave us all a hearty welcome. While sitting with him he introduced a friend of his Mr [MS blank], who expressed a great desire to visit Mr. Owen's place, which he hoped to succeed in doing, as he was to sail for Liverpool in a Philadelphia packet (one of which sail once a month) tomorrow. This is not so good a point for packets to sail from as New York, as it is 150 miles from the sea. We dined with Mr. Flower & Miss Ronald's at the Boarding house in South Fourth Street where they lodge. The rooms & company & fare were good; the dinner was between two & three, and we left the table before 1/2 past 3. A Mr. Elliot, a member of the senate, who has a suite of appartments in the house, was at table, and [*] conversed for some time with Mr. Owen. Wm. Owen walked out to view the town with a Mr. Black a lodger there, and I returned to the hotel. Mr. Owen afterwards went to drink tea there, and to be introduced to Mrs. Elliot.—Mr. Flower shewed Mr. Owen a letter he had received from his son, informing him that Mr. Rapp had received two offers to buy his place, which he would certainly accept, unless Mr. Owen before the end of Decr. decided to take it himself. Mr. Flower urged Mr. Owen to hasten his Journey west. Hunter told us that his plan was, if strong enough in ten days, to take a passage by sea to New Orleans, where

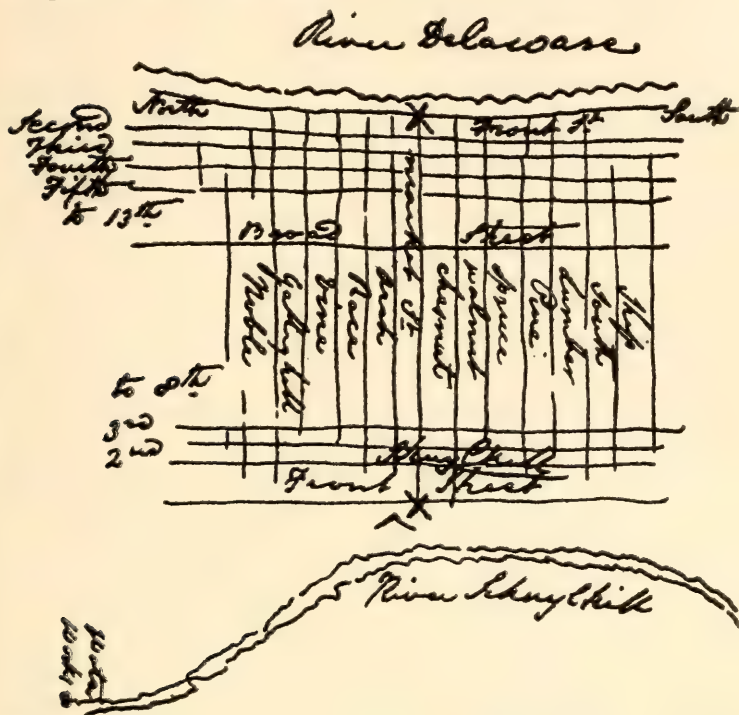
his baggage was, where he had many friends, and where he likewise had business to transact, and thence sail up the Mississippi, & join us at Harmonie. The voyage to New Orleans he calculated would take 15 days, & that up the river 10 or 12.—Coming here from New York, we paid each 2 1/2 dollars passage, 75 cents, dinner, one dollar, supper & bed, & 1/2 a dollar breakfast. The voyage up to Albany cost 3 dollars each, [*] including every thing, and the same coming down. So great is the opposition at this moment, that one of the Steam boats takes passengers 45 miles for 12 1/2 cents—6 1/2d. About 8 o'clock Mr Owen came home with a Mr. Pachston, a boarder in the same house with Mr. Flower, who introduced himself to Mr. Owen & offered to do any thing in his power for him while he remained in Philadelphia.—Mr. Owen met a Mr. Vaughan for whom he had introductions, who engaged us to be at the Atheneum this evening. This is an institution set on foot within a few years for the purpose of enabling strangers to become acquainted with the society of the place.

(Friday 19th.
Novr. cont'd)

Saturday 20th.
Novr.

We breakfasted at half past 8 at the ordinary where there were about two dozen persons. After breakfast I wrote a long letter to my aunt Lewis [?], which with others from Mr. Owen & his son we took on board the Steam boat, which was to go down the river to the Algonquil Packet which is bound for Liverpool. Mr. Hunter's friend Mr. Haggarty whom we met with him yesterday took charge of our letters as he was going to England by that Packet. While we were writing several visitors called. [*] Dr. Rush,—Mr. Gilpin brother of a quaker who has a paper manufactory at Brandyway near Wilmington 30 miles down the river, and who expressed a great desire to see Mr. Owen's plans introduced, & Mr. Hunter, with two or three friends. Dr. Rush engaged us to dine with him on Monday. Between 12 & 1 o'clock Mr. Owen went out to deliver his letters, & Wm. & myself went in a coach with Mr. Flower & Miss Ronalds to see the water works which supply the whole city. While waiting for them at a shop

door, we got the coachman to explain to us in a few words the plan of the streets thus



Market St. is the center street having in its middle a covered market place for all sorts of articles. This arrangement seems to be well managed, and the supply of every thing abundant [*] Beef I was told was about 9 cents & mutton 5 cents per lb of the best quality. Parallel to Market Street run streets from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, having for the most part names of trees. At right angles to Market Street and across it runs Broad St. The crossing is meant to be the center of the city. Parallel to Broad St. run other streets. The outer ones are called Front Street next comes 2nd. St., 3rd. St. & so on up to the center, and have the addition of North or South as they run north or south of Market St. The streets are of a moderate width with brick foot ways on both sides. The houses are chiefly of brick with marble or granite steps. There are in a few places squares inclosed by palings & planted. The Bank is con-

sidered a fine building. The distance from the Mansion house hotel to the Water works which are by the side of the Schuylkill river is about a mile & a half,—The streets though laid out nearly to reach them, are not yet built. The river is dammed up, and three water wheels having about a 120 horse power force a supply of water up to a reservoir 100 feet above the level of the river. A continuation of the building is already prepared to receive 3 other wheels when a greater supply shall be found necessary. The contrivance is extremely simple. The large wheel turns an arm which works a piston which forces 42 barrels of water per minute into the reservoir, through [*] metal pipes, and from thence it is conducted into the city through wooden ones. But I was told that metal ones would soon be introduced all the way. From the height of the reservoir we could command an extended view of the banks of the Schuylkill river which are prettily wooded, & adorned with a few country seats; and we saw a great portion of the city. The outskirts appear scattered & the ground much broken with sand pits, quarries, and holes. The soil is of a sandy & reddish earth, & the stone a soft granite. The trees do not grow to a great height, & the soil appears poor. At 3 o'clock we dined with Mr. Hunter at the boarding house where he lodges. We met about a dozen gentlemen there. A Dr. Warren argued that Physiologically man was not so far the creature of circumstances, that a Chinese child could be made completely an Indian, were he in the earliest stage of life remove[d] from the one situation into the other. After dinner Mr. Owen went to settle with Mr. Flower about setting off for Baltimore & Washington on Tuesday the 23rd. We drank tea at 6 o'clock at the Ordinary, and after tea a Mr. [MS blank] called on Mr. Owen to ask him to his house or to see Mr. Say at the Academy of Natural Science. He seemed a man of business, expressed a great conviction in [*] the goodness of Mr. Owen's plan & mentioned some working people whom he could depend upon as men of integrity and advocates of the plan.—At 8 o'clock we called at Mr. Hunter's & went with two gentlemen to the Atheneum, where Mr. Vaughan introduced us to a large circle of scientific men. Mr. Owen

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had some conversation with several who were favorable to his views. Dr. Brown Professor of Medicine at Lexington college in the State of Kentucky, invited us strongly to visit that place, where he said they were anxious to introduce improvements in education. He wished to have been able to travel west with us, but having been absent in Europe, he was obliged to proceed home in haste, & could not wait to accompany us. I was introduced to Dr. Bigsby of the British Medical Department of Canada. He had known Skene & several of the Engineers in Canada. He was very polite & offered us his services. I was introduced to several U. States officers & conversed with them. Major Long, the author of travels in the States was there, and conversed with me for a short time relative to the state of the country.

Immediately after breakfast Mr. Spackman, on whom Mr Owen called yesterday, & for whom he had a letter of credit from the House of Rathbone, called and engaged us to breakfast [*] with him tomorrow at 8 o'clock. Mr. Hunter called with a friend & two other gentlemen, one of whom took Mr. Owen in his carriage 3 miles out of the City to Madame Fretage's the celebrated teacher. [One of the gentlemen was Mr. Kuhn; another was Mr. Vaughan; a third Mr. Cresson.] Mr. Bird called and engaged us to dinner at 1/2 past one. At 10 o'clock I went with W^m. Owen to the Quaker's meeting in Arch St. where we saw a very large congregation. Many persons, both male & female, were dressed in the fashions of the day. Two females & one male speaker addressed the meeting for a short time in a very slow uninteresting style. We came out about 1/2 past eleven, and walked along several of the streets. The Pensylvanian hospital is a conspicuous building, having a bronze statue of Penn in the court in front of it. The United States Bank built of Marble is a very handsome building. In Chesnut Street there are several good buildings and well built rows of houses. As the ground on which the city is built is nearly level, you may see the country beyond each extremity of almost every street from almost any [*] part of it, and at the crossings of the streets you see the four cardinal points as through the small end of a spy glass. This effect, though striking, is not agreeable; and

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as there is no variety, it becomes tiresome walking through the streets, which have neither very large nor magnificent houses to attract & please the eye, nor a sufficient width to give to their length & regularity a noble appearance. When we returned to the hotel, Mr. Beckett, a gentlemanly person, called to offer his services. He is a partner of Mr. Davis, & married to a sister of Mr. Kuhn. Another gentleman also called. At 1/2 past one we went to Mr. Bird's to dinner where we met Mr. Neff of Savannah who invited us to visit him. He mentioned a Captain Gordon, son of Sir Willoughby Gordon & Captain in the guards being there and visiting a great deal. Mr. Bird returned to the hotel with us, and sat [*] some time in conversation with Mr. Owen relative to the terms on which capital would be borrowed & associations formed on his plans as he wished to become a shareholder. We then called on Mr. Warder & Dr. Chapman, both of whom were out. We returned, sat in conversation with Hunter till six o'clock, and then went to drink tea with Mr. Longstreth, where we met a large party of Friends, to whom Mr. Owen gave an outline of his views. [Among the Party were Messrs. Spackman, & Wilson, Redwood Fisher, Miss Fisher, Mrs. Fisher, Dr. Morton, & Eli K Price.] We returned to Mr. Hunter's between 9 & 10 o'clock where we met a Col. Clarke to whom Mr. Owen shewed his drawings and who wished him every success, and added that he would himself be an active co-operator. Eli Price shewed us the way home, and engaged to go with me to see the line of Battle ship that is on the stocks.

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This morning we breakfasted with Mr. Spackman & met Mrs. Spackman, [*] the son, Mr. Wilson his partner, & Mr. Flower. Mr. Owen drew money from him. After breakfast we called on Mrs. Hume the wife of Mr. Hume who knew Mr. Owen in England, & who wishes to embark £ 30 in his plan. W^m. Owen & myself returned to the hotel, where Captn Maxwell, & Messrs. Cresson & Price, called. Also a gentleman from the Franklin Institute to ask Mr. Owen to attend there this Evening and give a lecture. Mr. Owen engaged to go there between 7 & 8 o'clock and meet, the gentlemen, but said he could not give any public lecture on the subject, before he have waited upon

the members of government. He would however, be most happy to be introduced to the gentlemen so kindly inviting him, and in conversation explain any [*] point of his plan they wished to have explained. Another gentleman called to request Mr. Owen would attend the meeting of several persons who had formed themselves into a sort of society for the purpose of promoting his plan of association, and give them some information on the subject. Mr. Owen regretted that his short stay & numerous engagements would put it out of his power to attend their meeting; but he observed that, as he had engaged to be at the Franklin Institute this evening, some of the gentlemen of this society might be able to attend there. Mr. Owen went out in a coach with Mr. Cresson to see the Water works & pay some visits & I accompanied by Mr. Eli Price called for Mr. Vaughan at the Athenaeum, which is in one end of the Building called the Museum, in one chamber of which the [*] Declaration of Independence was signed in 1776. In the Athenaeum we met Mr. Paxton who put my name down in the books, which would enable me to go there & read the papers & make use of the library. Mr. Paxton then accompanied us to the Academy of Natural Science & introduced me to Mr. Say the librarian. He is a Naturalist and is at present publishing a work on the subject. We then went to Mr. Meredith's and I left my card & Mr. Ogden's letter as he was out. On our return to the Hotel, we found Mr. Owen & several gentlemen looking at his plans & discussing his views. The gentlemen were, Mess^{rs} Turner Camac, Washington Smith, Thomas Say, Mr. Le Seur, Redwood Fisher, Jont. W. Condry, Eli K. Price.—The National Bank which I passed through this morning, has a very handsome front. It is built of marble brought from the neighbourhood.—We went at 3 o'clock to dine with Dr. Rush. Mrs. Rush is a handsome, & very pleasing person. There was a large party. Among the number were Mr. [*] Meredith & his son, Mr. Kuhn, & Mr. Beckett. [Also Mrs. Rush's father, Ridgway, & two brothers of Dr. Rush.] The table was extremely well served. At 6 o'clock we went & drank tea with a Mr. Fortin (a black) and his family. He had a large sail manufactory & had made an

independence. Such is the prejudice against his colour that his family are not visited. They appeared interesting people. The daughters are fine girls & all the children seem well educated. Mr. Owen went for the purpose of being introduced by Mr. Flower to Mr. Granville the Haytian Agent employed to invite Free Blacks to remove to St. Domingo. About 2000 were shipped off a short time since, but as it is strongly reported that a French Fleet has been seen & that an attack is to be made on the Island, the blacks suspect that they will be made soldiers; therefore they are at present not so well inclined as might be expected to go & settle there. Mr. Granville was in Buonaparte's army & served several campaigns in Germany &c He seems an intelligent, active person. At half past 7 o'clock we met some gentlemen at the [*] hotel who escorted us to the Institute. There we found a lecture room crowded with respectable persons. One of the Professors opened the proceedings by stating that the gentleman who was to lecture that evening was unexpectedly absent, but that Mr. Owen had kindly agreed at their request to give them a short outline of his views & plan. Mr. Owen then addressed the meeting, & regretted that he was so little prepared to give any public exposition of his plans, as it had been his intention to confine all his communications to conversation with his friends till he had visited the most interesting portions of the States. He therefore trusted that the gentlemen present would be satisfied with the short & imperfect outline which he should attempt to give them. He then stated his view of human nature, the influence of circumstances over it, the sort of associations which he wished to have established; and [*] in reply to a few questions gave a brief statement of his own experience & practice, and of the system of education adopted at New Lanark. The company applauded him on his concluding these statements, & broke up between 8 & 9 o'clock. Mr. W. Meridith then took W^m. Owen & myself to a Soirée at Mrs. Marloe's. This lady sees the most fashionable company at her house every Monday evening throughout the year. The company was very genteel & agreeable, and the drawing rooms were handsome & convenient. Mr. Meredith & Lt. Page of the

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Navy, were very attentive to us. They introduced me to several young ladies;—Misses Hamilton, the daughter of a rich Charleston Merchant, & about to be married, Miss Wilson, Griffith, two Misses Golovin, Elwin, Seaton who told me she was to set out for Baltimore tomorrow in the Steam boat, and the daughter in law of the British consul Robertson.—

Mr Owen breakfasted [*] with Mr. Mathew Carey the bookseller, and afterwards called on Mess^{rs}. Longstreth, Stackman, Fisher, the British consul Robertson, Beckett where he was introduced to his father in law Mr. Kyle, & Mr. Walsh the Editor of the National Gazette, to whom he gave a copy of Thompson work on the Distribution of Wealth. Our bill came to 40 1/2 \$ We embarked on board the Steam boat at midday. Our Party now consisted of Mr. Flower & Miss Ronald's, Mr. Hunter & ourselves. We met on board Dr. Mease, Mr. & M^{rs}. Everett, Mr. and M^{rs}. Fickler, Miss Seaton and two other young ladies. Mr. Everett is brother to the professor, was Envoy in Holland, & has travelled much in Europe. The river widens rapidly as you descend, the country is low on both sides but seems to be well cultivated. At the southern extremity of the city is the Navy Yard, where we saw two ships building, and several small vessels lying. The ships were within large and well built wooden [*] coverings. I had wished to see these vessels before I left Philadelphia, but was informed that strict orders had been issued not to admit Foreigners into the Navy yard. Nine miles down the [we] passed a redoubt on the right bank of the river, a wooden fort built on piles in the middle and a sandy elevation on the left bank where the Hessians were defeated in 1778. The redoubts were attacked by British men of war during the Revolution. Dr. Mease left us at a landing place a short distance below this point. We landed at a small place called New Castle about 1/4 after 5, and crossed in 8 4 horse coaches to French town 16 miles, where we again embarked on board a steam boat at 1/2 past 8 o'clock on the Chesapeake river. [A short distance below French town stand the ruins of some public stores, burnt in 1814 by the British.] The country through which we passed was low, & in some places cultivated; but as we passed through it in the dark we had

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not an opportunity of observing it. As soon [*] as we were all on board, tea was served, after which the ladies retired into their cabin, and the Captain drew tickets with numbers on them, allotting the births to the passengers. [Our passage &c cost about \$7 each.]

Wednesday 24th
Nov^r.

About 3 o'clock we arrived at Baltimore, and between 6 & 7 o'clock we landed & went to the Indian Queen Hotel, kept by Mr. Barnam. We had some difficulty in finding accommodation as the city was filled with persons attending the Annual Cattle Shew, and as the Marquis La Fayette was expected the next day from Washington, for whose reception a wooden painted arch way had been erected at the end of the principal street, with the following inscription,

Washington Welcome our Friend La Fayette

1776

1824

After breakfast Mr. Tiernan called on Mr. Owen and said that his friend in Philadelphia had written to him to say that Mr. Owen was to be in Baltimore that day. Mr. Owen gave him a letter he had for him, and he then accompanied Mr. Owen to call & [*] deliver letters to General Harper from Mr. Thomas, & to Mr. Meredith councillor at law from Judge Ogden* [*& letters to Mess^{rs}. Gwynn, Robinson, & Maher].—He likewise called on Mr. Murphy editor of the American, and was introduced in the street to Mr. Robert Oliver a rich & benevolent gentleman. At General Harper's Mr. Owen saw Miss Seaton who resides with him. The General is son in law to Charles Carroll who, besides Mess^{rs}. Jefferson & Adams, is the only one living of those who signed the declaration of independence. Col. Harvey who was on the Duke of Wellington's staff married a granddaughter of Mr. Carroll. [Mr. Neil an American lawyer in London gave the letters to Mess^{rs}. Murphy, Gwynn, Maher & Robinson] Mr. Gwynn is Editor of the Federal Gazette. Mr. Owen was introduced to Mr. Raymond and bought of him for 4 1/2 \$ his treatise in 2 vols on Political Economy. Shortly after Mr. Owen's return to the Hotel General Harper, accompanied by his son, called & invited us all to drink tea with him. We then drove 4 miles into the country to the Cattle Shew, which was in a field near a farm house & inclosed by Palings. We paid a dollar

each, the ladies & Mr. Owen [*] excepted, for admittance, but as almost all the cattle had been removed the day before we saw but little. We were however introduced to Mr. Somerville one of the stewards, and Mr. Owen was invited to dine with the meeting,* [the next day to meet La Fayette upon which occasion General Harper was to deliver an Oration.] but he declined as he was anxious to proceed to Washington. The day was very warm and dusty, the thermometer stood about 70° in the shade. We paid 2\$ for a hackney coach to take 4 out & bring them back. The suburbs of the city appeared irregular, the ground being broken up by brick kilns & streets laid out where only here & there a small house had yet been built. The road was rough & irregular at the sides, & deep with sand & gravel. The country was only cultivated in places, being for the most part covered with wood, principally oak, but not of any great size on account of the poverty of the soil.—We dined at 2 o'clock at the Ordinary where there were probably 50 persons. After dinner we went to the Exchange, a large & handsome building, where our names had been entered by General Harper & where we read the [*] newspapers. On our return, Mr. Tiernan called & introduced a Mr. Shepperd. W^m. Owen and myself walked out to look at the town & inspect the Catholic Church & Unitarian chapel. It was too late in the evening to see the inside of these buildings. We could however remark that the Unitarian chapel had both an elegance & lightness of appearance, which were altogether wanting to the large, square, & solid mass of building erected by the Catholics. The two churches were close to one another. Over the Unitarian was the inscription in Greek, 'I lead to God,'; on each face of the Catholic was a verse from the Bible. That face which looked towards the Unitarian chapel had the following verse,

'As for us we preach Christ Crucified, to the Jews a 'stumbling block, to the Greeks foolishness.' A short distance from these churches stands a white marble Trojan column, to the memory of Washington, on the top of which his statue is to be placed. In another part [*] of the city (Wednesday 24th. Nov^r.) stands a small monument to the memory of some of the

citizens killed in the year 1814 when the British attacked the place. The city of Baltimore stands on the side of a small rising ground & over looks in some parts the harbour. On a small and elevated neck of land stands a battery & signal post. The principal street & some others are large, and a considerable deal of business seemed to be doing. As the summers here are extremely hot, the frame work required for awnings stood across the footway in front of most of the large houses. We remarked that the inhabitants looked pale & not healthy. This might in a great measure be occasioned by the pernicious practice of overheating their rooms.—In the evening Mr. Owen received a note from Mr. Meredith inclosing three letters of introduction to persons in the West country, which he acknowledged. Afterwards he went to tea at General Harpers. I wrote [*] to Mr. Gadsby at Washington to secure lodgings for tomorrow, & having a bad cold retired early to bed.—

Thursday 25th.
Nov^r.

Mr. Owen engaged one of the regular stages with 4 horses, & carrying 9 inside, to take our party of 7 persons & baggage, to Washington for \$28. We set out between 9 & 10 o'clock, changed horses three times, and arrived at Washington 38 miles by 1/4 past 7. We stopped on the road at a place called Harris' hut and Mr. Owen, his son & myself walked about a mile off the road through the wood to a newly erected cotton manufactory [called Savage Factory] belonging to Mr. Amos Williams to whom Mr. Owen had a letter. Mr. Williams has about a mile square of land, for which he paid at the rate of 11 dollars per acre. The woods contain fine oak & beech besides other wood, and a large stream runs through it. He has within 2 1/2 years built a large factory and several houses for the workpeople, and he is busy now making a mill & some [*] other buildings. He spins, weaves & bleaches. We returned to the road by a footpath along the beautiful banks of the stream. The day was remarkably fine. The thermometer was in the shade at 70°. The road lay through woods here & there opened & cleared. The country was varied considerably by hills, and a few farms. The soil was sandy & gravelly. Mr. Williams said that with the most imperfect tillage without any manure, the land would yield

above 20 bushels of wheat per acre. We stopped & dined at a farm by the road side called [MS blank] [dinner 75 cents each.] Mr. Flower, Miss Ronalds and Mr. Hunter, put up at the Indian Queen, and we went on to Mr. Gadsby's at Washington.

After breakfasting at the Ordinary where we met half a dozen gentlemen, Mr. Owen took a hackney coach, at the rate of 5\$ for the day & called on Mr. Quincy Adams the secretary of state, where he was introduced to Dr. Watkins and engaged to be with Mr. [*] Adams again tomorrow at 10 o'clock. He then went to the President's who was engaged with the secretary of the Navy, & appointed to see Mr. Owen tomorrow at 11 o'clock. From thence he went to Mr. Crawford, Mr. Calhoun the secretary of war, & Mr. Tayloe. Afterwards we accompanied him to Mr. Addington the British Chargé d'Affaires & left our cards. [Mr. Owen then called on the Attorney General Wurt, and had a long & interesting conversation with him.] While Mr. Owen was paying the above visits, I went with W^m. Owen, called for Mr. Flower, Miss Ronalds & Mr. Hunter, and went with them to view the Capitol, the interior of which many workmen are still busily employed upon. The building is a solid, lofty Edifice of stone, having a large dome in the center, and two wings also with domes. Here are the President's rooms, the chambers of the senate & Representatives, the library, the several committee rooms, and a magnificent circular Hall in the center; around which are to be placed historical paintings, descriptive of the [*] most interesting events in the American history, such as the Declaration of Independence. In one gallery we remarked columns of a new order of architecture formed from the Indian corn, which had a very chaste appearance. Also fine pillars of a polished marble resembling the pudding stone. The Capitol stands on an elevated spot at one extremity of a wide street at present planted with rows of poplars, and about a mile long. At the other extremity of this street is the President's house, a fine white stone palace placed between two double buildings of brick in which are the public offices. The President's Palace overlooks the Potomack which is between one & two miles wide, and the long wooden

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bridge over it. The city is marked out on rather a flattish country. The soil is a mixture of sand gravel & clay. The houses which have already been built are of brick, & many small & of wood. As the scale on which the city has been planned is very extensive and as every one seems to have [*] built at any point which suited him, the present appearance of the city is extremely irregular & broken. The surrounding country does not rise high. The cultivation of the land does not appear good. There is very little wood in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. What there is appears stunted. On the distant lands, & on some hills on the southern side of the Potomack there are woods, but as at this season they look brown & bare, the panoramic prospect is uninteresting. At some distance down the river & on the opposite side, smoke marked out to us the situation of Alexandria. We dined at the Ordinary. Immediately after dinner we called on Mr. Flower, and went with Miss Ronald's to see the wooden bridge which is nearly a mile from the avenue. It is a mile & a quarter long & between 30 & 40 feet wide. It is built with large & strong timbers & oaken planks in a substantial manner with [*] drawbridges for the passage of vessels. There is extremely little trade in this place. A space of ten miles square in a central situation was ceded for the purposes of government, & called the District of Columbia, but it is neither a good soil nor a situation where a large city would be likely to grow.—The influence & expences of the government are producing some activity in the place, & the people are building rapidly in various parts of this new capital. On our return to tea with Mr. Flower, Dr. Watkins & his son called. After tea Mr. Owen called on Mr. Reynolds* [senator for the State of Tennessee] a friend of Dr. Price, & engaged to breakfast tomorrow with him; and on General Wingate whom he did not find at home. The thermometer stood in the shade this morning between 10 & 11 o'clock at 56°. The day was calm, but cloudy. About 7 o'clock in the evening it began to rain, and we had for a short time a heavy shower.

This morning the thermometer was at 9 o'clock 66° in the shade. It was calm & cloudy, but [*] between 9 & 10 it cleared up, and a hot sun burst upon us. Mr. Owen went

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out to breakfast with Mr. Reynolds. W^m. Owen & myself remained at the hotel to write letters. I wrote to Mr^s. Bridges. About 12 o'clock we went out. In front of the Presidents house we met Mr. Owen. He had been with Mr. Quincy Adams, and at 11 o'clock with the President, whom he said was a plain & intelligent man. He observed to Mr. Owen that this country gave more scope for improvements of every sort than any other.—Mr. Owen called at the Attorney General's office, & introduced us to him. He is a tall, stout & middle aged person, very affable in manner. Mr. Owen remained with him while W^m. & myself walked to the Indian Queen hotel (Brown's) to bring Hunter to visit the Chocktaw & Chickasaw chiefs who are at present in Washington having come to transact business with the President. Hunter was not well enough to come out. We therefore returned to Mr. Owen, called with him on Mr. Reynolds who went & introduced us to the Chiefs. There were three or four elderly men of the red Indian race. They had strong features & expressive countenances, but were quite in masquerade [*] being dressed in an awkward & shabby European costume. The principal person was about 50 years old. He called himself General Pushamattaha. There were three or four other persons present; two of whom they told us were Chocktaws educated in English schools. They looked very much like sunburnt Americans. We walked round the circle, shook hands with them all & then took our seats. The General made a sort of speech which the interpreter explained to be a welcome to us. Mr. Owen then told them that he had come 3000 miles from home, that many of his countrymen wished well to their fellow creatures the Indians, and were anxious to promote a general peace among the several tribes, that their race might not be extinguished, as they had learnt to admire many points of their character. He added that he hoped before his return to Europe to make known to the Public a way of bringing children up & reforming Society, so that all persons might be trained to have whatever is good both in the Indian & European characters, and to be without [*] all that is bad in them. One of the chiefs replied that they liked extremely his talk, that they were now so surrounded by

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the civilized people, that they knew they could not long remain in existence if they did not acquire the best parts of their knowledge & habits; that he had thought for some time in the manner that Mr. Owen had been speaking, & he was glad now to get a little more information in that direction. He added that they had sent several of their children to different parts of the U. States to learn the useful arts, & he pointed to the two young men as proofs that Red Indians could be brought up to appear like the White people.—They all appeared pleased, though their manners are silent, reserved & serious. The principal chief had on a sort of blue uniform with two large gold epaulettes, another was dressed in blue with a large cloak over his dress, made of a Stuart tartan, and a third had on a large blue greatcoat with capes. It is to be regretted that the Indians should in the first instance, acquire their first knowledge [*] of the white people from the rudest of this people, and deform themselves by attempting to wear a costume for which their habits are unfitted, which in no way becomes them, and of which they see the worst patterns for imitation.—The interpreter was a white proprietor of many hundred head of oxen horses & hogs. He said that he had resided 40 years in their neighbourhood, and much preferred their honesty, sincerity friendship & behaviour, to those of the white settlers.—We met Major Smith & one or two other gentlemen settlers from their neighbourhood with them. The Major appeared, an open hearted active minded man; he very cordially hoped we would call & see himself.—As we were coming out Miss Ronalds, Mr. Flower & Hunter, arrived to pay them a visit. Hunter afterwards told me that he had an agreeable chat with them, though it was by means of the interpreter, as he could not speak a word of their language. They told him that they had been much pleased with Mr. Owen. Hunter [*] said that he had felt quite uneasy to set out on his journey west ever since his conversation with them; that it had produced an anxious feeling in his breast, ‘Which,’ said he, turning to the interpreter, ‘You I am sure can well understand.’ He added that he had never felt so pleasantly at home as with them, since he left his own people.—We then called on General

Wingate; he was not at home but we were admitted by Mrs. Wingate, the wife of his brother. Here we met her mother and a young lady, and two elderly gentlemen. While we were there, Mrs. Adams & two daughters came in. Mrs. Adams is a thin, formal person. The daughters are unaffected girls. One of them said that it was a novelty and a very agreeable one in their country, to see English travellers visiting America. Mrs. Wingate remarked that the few who had hitherto visited them had very unfairly spoken of them.—Mrs. Wingate is a stout, lively and pleasant person. On coming away she expressed a hope of seeing us often on our return to Washington, and added that she should receive me [*] quite in a clannish manner. (Saturday 27th.
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We had been speaking of the Scotch Highlanders & Burns the poet, whose poetry seemed to accord with her feelings as much as with those of some highland Ladies.—[The party were General & Mrs. Dearborne & their daughter Mrs. Wingate and Mr. Wingate.] We returned to the hotel where we dined at the table d'hôte. After dinner we went & called on Dr. Watkins. [& called on Mr. Wallenstein who was not at home.] I left Mr. Owen there & went with W^m. Owen to the Marine Barracks, a mile east of the capitol to call on Mr. Richard T. Achmutz for whom I had a letter from young Abram Ogden. He was dining with the Colonel. I therefore left the letter & my card & returned for Mr. Owen; with whom we called at Williamson's hotel on Mr. & Mrs. Tichnor, & Mr. & Mrs. Everett & Miss Emma. They are very agreeable & interesting people. They go from this to Monticello, Mr. Jefferson's. Mr. Tichnor gave us all a pressing invitation to visit him at Boston. We then went to Mr. Tayloe's. Mr. Owen went in and found a pleasing old gentleman & his family. We returned to tea at the hotel. [Jules de Wallenstein secretary to the Russian Legation Mr. Addington, the British chargé Mr. Wingate, W^m. Ruggles, & Dr. Stoughton, called today.—] [We met Mr. Wallenstein with Mr. Tichnor & his party, & were introduced to him.] At 7 o'clock Mr. Owen went to Mr. Calhoun's evening party. He [*] returned about 10 o'clock, having spent the evening in a tête á tête with Mr. Calhoun, whom he considers a man of considerable

genius and extensive speculator into the progress of events.

Sunday 28th.
Nov^r.

The Stage to the west left this City at 3 o'clock this morning. As another would not start before Tuesday, it was determined that we should hire hackney coaches to take us in two days to Hagers Town where we should get into the line of road from Baltimore to Wheeling, & find stages to take us forward. Having a quantity of baggage with us, we found it necessary to hire three coaches; the rate of charge was 6\$ a day for each, including every thing, and calculating on two days going and two days for the return of the coaches. While we were preparing to set out Lt. Achmutz of the Marines, for whom I last night left a letter, called and expressed his wish to shew us Washington & its environs on our return. He appeared a genteel young [*] officer.—About half past one o'clock we started from the City, leaving a portion of our baggage in Mr. Gadsby's care. A short distance from the city we ascended the heights to the west of the suburbs called Georgetown, from whence we had an extensive view of the city, its environs and the course eastward of the Potomack. The view was strikingly picturesque. Thence we passed through a moderately cultivated country by an indifferent road through Rockville to Clarksburgh distant 27 miles, where we arrived at half past 8 o'clock. The latter part of the road was more hilly and deep, and the quantity of cleared & cultivated became less & less. From some of the rising grounds we had extensive views of hills and dales of tolerable soil, mostly sandy & gravelly, and covered with wood. The scene was pleasingly varied by farms on the sides of the hills. The inn at Clarksburgh is a small [*] farm. We had a good supper & good though plain beds.

Monday 29th.
Nov^r.

The day beginning to break a little after six o'clock, we again started, and passing through some hilly & woody country by a bad road over the South or Blue ridge, we reached Fredericktown 15 miles distant between 10 & 11 o'clock. The air was mild, but it was cloudy, and we had a slight mizzling rain. Some of the points of view were extremely picturesque. Fredericktown appears a thriving little place, and being on the Baltimore high road, carries on a good deal of business. At Talbots inn we had a good

breakfast and were well served. Between 12 & one we continued our route by the high road to Hagers town, crossed the north Ridge from which we had several extensive views of hills & vallies covered with wood, and reached Hagers town 27 miles a little before 11 o'clock at night.—We stopt 12 miles before we reached Hagers town at a small village called Boonsboro, where we had supper. At Hagers town we drove to the Stage Office Hotel, where [*] we learnt that the only conveyance by which we could continue our journey, was the accommodation line stage, which was to set out at 4 o'clock in the morning. This line of stages had been established to run by the National road from Baltimore to Wheeling, and stated to be for the purpose of giving travellers more rest & taking more baggage than the mail coach. We however found that by slow driving they got every evening so late to the end of the day's journey as to afford us very little time for rest before the hour of starting the next morning. Another high road west runs from Philadelphia through Chambersburgh & Bedford to Pittsburg. The distance from Hagerstown to this line of road we found to be between 20 & 30 miles of a cross road, and that no stages or coaches could be obtained to take us across. We therefore settled to proceed by the Wheeling Stage in the morning; fare 9\$ each to Little Washington where we proposed to cross to Pittsburg. The national road has been [*] made at the expence of the whole state. 25,000\$ were voted by Congress last session for its repair.—

(Monday 29th.
Novr. contd)

We were called at half past 3 o'clock, we dressed without washing, and started in the stage. Our party consisted of ourselves, 7 in number, and 3 other passengers. The carriage was a four wheel spring waggon having a wooden top and leathern sides & back, made to roll up in fine weather. It contained a back seat, 3 benches & a drivers seat, made to carry 3 passengers each; and was drawn by four horses. This sort of vehicle is of Dutch construction. The horses were of Dutch breed. We travelled by a newly repaired road through a hilly & woody country, very little settled except in a few places by the road side. [Our road lay for some miles along the left bank of the Potomack, the vale of which is extremely rich and picturesque; broken &

Tuesday 30th
Novr.

high banks & hilly sides covered with fine timber. The river is not 100 yards wide & very shallow.] We breakfasted at Hancock about 11 o'clock 27 miles. It is a small place, but we were well served. We crossed a high ridge of mountain by a good winding road. This ridge is called sideling hill. On the western side of it the vale is deep & covered with wood. We next crossed another similar ridge called Town hill. From the sides & top of both these [*] ridges the scenery is wild and beautiful. The wood is thick and the timber of large dimensions, consisting of several varieties of oak, of sycamores, hiccories, sugar trees, a few beeches and elms, persimmons, chesnut & walnut trees. Some pines & cedars were scattered here & there through the woods, giving a pleasing variety to the brown & red appearance which they assume at this season of the year.—As the road was continually ascending & descending steep hills, and as besides being a heavy load in the Stage, we usually went 15 or 16 miles without changing horses, our rate of travelling hardly exceeding 3 miles an hour.* [*The morning fog cleared off and we had warm & cloudless day to brighten our prospect & animate the surrounding scenery.] Hunter & myself enjoyed walking over these well covered hills, and often stood admiring the beautiful scenery entirely the work of Nature's hand. Accustomed as he had been to the Indian's life amidst the luxuriance of natural vegetation, and far removed from the artificial arrangements and habits of our white brethren, [*] and taught as I had been among the highlands of my native country to admire their sublime but simple beauties; our sentiments mutually accorded, and we felt no want of farms & the uncouth habitations, architecture & habits of what is vaguely styled civilization to stiffen the charming landscape, or check our flow of spirits. [On the side of these hills, Hunter pointed out to me a variety of plants & named the trees. He pulled up some of the sprouts of the sassafras tree by the roots, of which we got some tea made which had a high & delightful flavour. He pointed out the American wild tea-plant with its red berry. We met a stage going east with some of the Senators in it, who called out to us & made enquiries how the election was going on.—] We reached the dining place

between 5 & 6 o'clock. As it was so late we both dined & supped at Mr. Slicer's farm, and by moonlight crossed Nicholas mountain to Cumberland, a flourishing small town 66 miles from Hagers Town, lying in a Deep and picturesque valley. We got in a little before 11 o'clock. The inn was very comfortable considering the remote situation of the place, and the steepness of the mountain communication to it. It being night time, we saw too little of the place to be able to describe it.—One advantage of the inns in this country is [*] that, owing to an abundant supply of fuel, several rooms have large fires constantly burning in them; so that a traveller arriving at any hour or in any weather, finds himself at once in a snug place for warming & drying himself. Besides this, provisions being likewise every where in profusion, his hunger and thirst are readily & quickly satisfied.

(Tuesday 30th.
Novr. contd.)

Here we changed our spring waggon for a nine inside coach with leathern sides to roll up, & carrying one or two on the drivers seat outside. The coach was small for our number, now consisting of only two gentlemen besides seven selves; Mr. Beebe of the State of New York, and Mr. Kurd of Danville Kentucky. We started at 6 o'clock. The road lay sometimes along deep hollows thickly filled with lofty trees. Again it ascended steepes & crossed ridges of hills, thus rendering our progress slow though extremely varied and romantic. Hunter & myself soon got down from our coach and walked in front. The morning was foggy, so that we could not see above a hundred yards in [*] any direction. We overtook a waggon with some men women & children on foot, all emigrating from the east to the state of Ohio. It is the practice with these emigrants to remain till the crops are ripening on their farms, then sell every thing as it stands and cross the mountains to the West, with the hopes of a larger and better establishment in a new country. The few families we overtook on our way, were rather late in their movements. We learnt from them that the crops this season had been good. We found them plain and friendly in their manners, and quite as ready to answer any questions as to put them. Our breakfast place was at the small scattered village of Alleghany at the bottom of the western descent of Savage Mountain, and 14 miles

Wednesday 1st
Decr.

distant. As the road had been a constant succession of high hills & deep vales, Hunter & myself easily reached this halting place at 10 o'clock, a few minutes before the Stage. The Inn was a small farm house, but we were immediately served with a good breakfast of coffee, & tea, made [*] from the sassefras root which Hunter had got during our walk, wheat bread & rye bread, broiled chickens, preserved pears & apricots, wild honey, venison steaks & sausages.—The scenery was now somewhat changed. The country was flatter and covered with forests of lofty pines, many of which were from 130 to 150 feet at least high.—Our weather continued bright, & warm.—Every day we had met droves of hogs, driving from the West to the Eastern markets. Some droves consisted of 500 or 600 hogs; divided into 3 or 4 bodies. They travelled at the rate of from 8 to 10 miles a day. Some would be 50 days on their journey. Their food was Indian corn, which they procured at the small farms & halting places by the road side. The wholesome food of the forest & the Indian corn, render the hog's flesh much sweeter & delicate than the English feeding, and not being over loaded to an unnatural & unhealthy degree with fat, they displayed a vigour & intelligence, which we rarely remark among them in England or Ireland.—After travelling the [*] rest of the day, through the same sort of country, we came a little before sun set to the descent into an extensive vale covered with forest of various sorts of trees. In a deep hollow & built on the small river Youghiogeny, stands the small town of Smithfield. Here we drove up to an Inn at the door of which was standing General Jackson's carriage. The general at the moment of our arrival was at the door of the inn surrounded by almost 20 of the people. He is an elderly healthy looking, thin person, with a high forehead, grey hair and stern but pleasing expressive countenance. [He was dressed in a plain blue surtout] Mr. Owen introduced himself & us to him, as having a letter of introduction from Mr. Clinton to the general. He travelled in his own carriage with his wife, another general & his wife, & a Mr. Donaldson & his wife.—Mr. Beebee was acquainted with the latter gentleman, & therefore learnt from him that the general had 101, Adams 58, & both Crawford & Clay

much less.—We had a very good dinner, and a [*] variety of well cooked dishes. We proceeded over a steep ridge of hills, called Sugar loaf mountain, across a romantic vale, and over the Laurel ridge to Union town, where the Stage usually stops for the night.—Having, however started two hours later in the morning than the usual time, and having on account of the load, come at a slow rate we did not reach Union till between 11 & 12 at night. It was agreed by all of us to proceed without resting. The baggage was therefore removed into a stage, similar to the one which brought us from Hagers town to Cumberland, and taking a little tea & refreshment we prepared to continue our journey. The Laurel ridge is one of the highest. The ascent from the east is about a mile, but the western descent is about three miles. It is thickly covered with woods. The glen by the sides of which the road wound down the mountain were wild, deep, precipitate & rocky. The country to the west of this ridge, though broken by ridges of hills & much wooded, yet is comparatively flat, cleared and cultivated.—The greater number of the inhabitants have the appearance & habits of the Dutch to a great degree, the original settlers having come [from] Holland & the northern parts of Europe. Dutch farms are distinguishable by their [*] extensive & well kept barns, but the cultivation generally appeared imperfect and very incomplete.—

(Wednesday 1st.
Decr. contd.)

At one oclock in the morning we again set out by the light of a clear starry night & bright moon. The country through which we now passed was not so hilly or woody, and appeared better inhabited. About 1/2 past 4 we reached Brownsville 12 miles distant, on the banks of the Monongahela. A scattered village. Here we had to rest our selves in but a poor inn on chairs till 7 o'clock, the breakfast hour for the stage. They gave us a very good breakfast after which we crossed the ferry in the stage and continued on our journey over small hills & vales, generally cleared, and tolerably cultivated. A great part of the population of this part of the country is of Dutch extraction, as appears from the appearance of the people, and [*] their farms. The land is of a richer soil than that among the highlands through which we passed; or at least from cultivation

Thursday 2nd.
Decr.

appeared so, to our hasty & superficial observation. We reached Washington before 2 o'clock. It is 22 miles from Brownsville & 229 from Washington City. The town is of middle size & contains 4 or 5000 inhabitants. It appears at a distance rather black & uninviting, as the scenery around is bare, and as many of the houses are built of wood, which being unpainted, become in a short time of a dark colour. We parted from our two travelling companions with unusual regret, good wishes, and mutual invitations, and after dinner they continued on by the same stage to Wheeling.—The description of the ways of an inn in this part of the country [*] I must reserve for my leisure moments.—We soon retired to bed, slept some hours, rose to tea and again retired to rest, till we were called at 4 o'clock for the Pittsburg mail stage. I must remark that in the evening while I was shaving, a stage company arrived & were shewn into the same room. One of the party was a young female, daughter of a general whose name I cannot now call to mind. While I in my shirt was shaving in front of a pier glass, she stood behind me arranging her hair, while in another part of the room W^m. Owen was washing himself.

Friday 3rd.
Dec^r.

(Friday 3rd.
Dec^r. contd.)

We left Washington between 5 & 6 o'clock in the mail stage for Pittsburgh. Our own party & baggage filled the stage. The night had been rainy, the road in consequence was very slippery. The country [*] through which we passed was very hilly, but more inhabited and of a richer soil. The road from Washington to Pittsburgh, is not yet completed as a high road, therefore we proceeded slowly, though we had strong horses & a good driver. The distance is 25 miles. We stopped half way to change horses and breakfast. We reached Pittsburgh about 1/2 past 2 o'clock. [Mr. Flower & Miss Ronalds went to Mr. Davis's hotel on the river bank. The rest of the party came to Darlington's in front of the stage hotel, Mr. Stewart's.] This town is situated on a point of land between the two rivers Alleghany & Monongahela, over both of which there are wooden covered bridges. The left bank of the Monongahela, is a steep cliff, and contains near the surface large veins of excellent coal, good lime stone & free stone. The town is enveloped in smoke, looks dirty, and the inhabitants do not

seem to enjoy either a healthy or comfortable [*] existence. For a mile & a half before we reached the bridge of the Monongahela to cross over, the road became very deep & dirty in consequence of the constant passage of the coal carts, and all the houses appeared poor & miserable. We saw four large well painted steam boats lying by the side of the town. The bridge is $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile long. The timbers & planks to sustain its weight, and support the roof, are formed into arches tied by iron cramps, and strengthened by iron bars.—We were too late for the public dinner which is at one o'clock, but we were soon provided with a good one; after which we went out with Mr. Owen who wished to lose no time in delivering two letters from Mr. Clinton to Mr. Ross & Mr. Baldwin lawyers of this town, and two other letters to Mr. Mc.Donald & Mr. Forward [*] likewise lawyers. We only found Mr. Baldwin at home. We remained & drank tea with him & his wife. He is a great friend to protection of industry, and union of exertion. He has been a member of congress, and exerted himself much to promote the industry of the states. [Mr. Baldwin informed Mr. Owen that Mr. Rapp was in Pittsburgh; he sent to inquire for him, he was out; but Mr. Baldwin said he would introduce him to Mr. Owen the next day.] On our return Mr. Owen went with Mr. Speakman to call on Mr. Bakewell a Unitarian and glass manufacturer.—During his absence Mr. Mc.Donald called.

Mr. Owen went to breakfast with Mr. Bakewell, after which he returned to the inn with Mr. Rapp. Mr. Ross called and Mr. Sutton a friend of Mr. Rapp. It was then settled that we should set out to visit Mr. Rapp's new settlement, called Economy, between 12 & one o'clock. Mr. Owen went in Mr. Rapp's carriage. Hunter & myself [*] rode on Mr. Rapp's and Mr. Baldwin's horses, W^m. Owen went with Mr. Sutton in his gig, and a hired coach took Mrs. Sutton, Miss Ronalds & Mr. Flower. We crossed from the town to the right bank of the Alleghany & Ohio by a covered wooden bridge 400 yards long, similar to the one by which we entered Pittsburgh. The day was clear & frosty. Our road, a narrow cross road, lay along the right bank of the Ohio. We descended about 18 miles a very

Saturday 4th.
Decr.

(Saturday 4th.
Decr. contd)

picturesque vale, the ground on each side rising in hills, covered with wood. There were many woody islands in the river and here and there the banks spread out into flats of rich land, some of which had been cleared & cultivated. Almost every house passed had a sign to mark it as a tavern for travellers. Hunter and myself stopped at one of them. The interior was dirty and [*] poor. We walked into a room where the master of the house sat shoe making. We called for some cider & had a little conversation with him. He was a jocular politician & had his hits at the governments of the world. He spoke very severely of the British government using the Savage Indians to attack the inhabitants of the U. States. This he styled a barbarous proceeding. One of his sons had gone down the river to take possession of some lots of land on the Arkansas river which he had purchased from American soldiers.—As the road was very bad we did not reach Mr. Rapp's new settlement Economy till dark. It lies on a flat of some hundred acres on the right bank of the Ohio. He purchased it last spring, and immediately moved up to it with about 100 of his [*] people. It was covered with wood. He therefore encamped them on the ground, cut down part of the timber & commenced building a new town. This he laid off in streets. The houses are two stories high & stand a considerable distance apart from one another. When we arrived we were shewn into Mr. Rapp's house which is much like the rest, though he may as their Patriarch have some conveniences that are not general among them all. We were introduced to his daughter, two or three other females who waited upon us, and to Mr. Baker who seems to act as his steward or secretary and interpreter. They were all decent both in dress and manners; but both plainer & less characterized by mildness than the Shakers. Several old & young men came in after supper and were introduced to us. Mr. Rapp [*] conversed with Mr. Owen on the subject of forming human character, and seemed to have in many respects entertained similar opinions. He spoke of his having set mankind an example of the advantages of union in creating abundance with easy labour, & of practically teaching friendship to society. He said that he held the doctrine that mind or

spirit could not be without matter or body, and observed that by refining upon the subject, mankind had lost the substance while grasping the shadow, and omitted to live in harmony on earth while they looked forward to such a state in heaven. Mr. Owen shewed his plans, and the party were much pleased with them. Mr. Rapp said that Mr. Owen should have come a little sooner, before so much had been done. Mr. Owen replied that the present buildings would serve the people to live in while they were erecting [*] others on the new plan; and that if they wished to do a good to the world they might, as soon as one establishment was built, advantageously dispose of it to the public who would, he was sure, immediately become anxious to purchase it, and then go on building others. No observations of consequence were made by any of the Harmonists; they appeared quite respectful & submissive, and by their manner shewed to us that Mr. Rapp is quite their ruler & guide.—About 10 o'clock we retired. Hunter & myself went to one of the houses in front of Mr. Rapp's. As every thing was of recent erection, we were accommodated but in a temporary manner in a room with four beds, one of which was occupied by the driver of the hired coach, who seemed a decent well disposed young man. Before we went to bed I had some conversation with one of the people who told me that [*] the Society were removing from New Harmony because it was too warm in summer. Another said that he really could not tell why they changed their place of residence.

(Saturday 4th.
Dec^r. contd)

We breakfasted at 8 o'clock, after which a horn & a key bugle summoned us to church in a large room, the upper floor of the house facing Mr. Rapp's. At one end sat the females, at the other the males, and in the middle Mr. Rapp. The service consisted of two chapters in verse sung as Psalms by the whole congregation in good german style; and a lecture from Mr. Rapp on a few verses read out of the bible. When he finished his comments on a verse, he would turn & ask, It is true, do you understand? To which the older ones would reply, we believe; it is true. The subject of the chapters sung by them, was about union & friendship, as well as that of his lecture. He [*] gave W^m. Owen a copy of the book, which is a compilation of such senti-

Sunday 5th.
Dec^r.

ments, extracted from different authors, or composed by himself.—Mr. Rapp speaking afterwards of his discourse, observed that he would be ashamed to read a written discourse on a subject worthy of his attention & consideration. The people appeared to be from the age of 16 or 17 to between 40 & 50. Some of the men might be still older & younger but not much. Mr. Rapp is a stout healthy active old man of 67. He has a steady determined manner, but very little of that amiable mildness, which a patriarchal life and benevolent principles might be expected to produce. The people appear steady, sober, good humoured & plain in their manners. Their character & expression of countenance is german. They do not appear very lively or intelligent; but of [*] this a stranger cannot after one day's acquaintance, be expected to form a just estimate. The bugler played some german airs in good style, and several of the men who could talk english came round me & seemed much disposed to be friendly and communicative. The women retired to their houses as soon as they came out of church, & we could only see one or two at a door or window. From living out of the world's society, they seemed little acquainted or interested with its affairs. Some of them remarked to me that they had to labour & had therefore no time to go abroad or think of other things, and when I observed that by union they produced articles so easily as quickly to have their wants abundantly supplied; they replied that they did not work hard, but were always working at their leisure & just as they liked it. I heard them talking of the Election of a President of the U. States, and remarked [*] to them, that under their way of life there could be no use for a president. "Oh, "but the honor of it!" said some, "and," continued others, "the world could not do without a head ruler, king or "president." I did not reply to these remarks, it being evident that the System of their association was to have a ruling Father, to instruct all the members to reverence & obey him, and to teach them that this mode of government must be the best, and the only one which could last for any length of time. Mr. Owen had some conversation relative to the nature of Man & the new views which he took of it and of the proper arrangement of society. Though Mr. Rapp

seemed to assent to them, yet there was evidently a difference in his view of the subject; and as the interpreting a new subject is extremely difficult, Mr. Baker expressed a wish that Mr. Owen's Ideas should be written down & correctly [*] translated into German. Mr. Owen then gave him his papers No. 1 & 2. We were served with a good dinner between 11 & 12 o'clock, and then returned to Pittsburgh, which we reached about 5 o'clock. A little snow had fallen in the night. The day was cloudy and it was freezing sharply. On the way we passed an unfinished Steam boat belonging to the Harmonists which they were towing up to Pittsburgh for the purpose of completing. It is expected that their new settlement will be so far advanced as to accommodate the whole of the Society next spring, when the rest will move up to it in their own steamboat.—Mr. Owen asked Mr. Rapp why they changed their abode. He replied in rather a way to avoid the question, that this was their third settlement, that they had completed a good town and cleared & well cultivated a large tract of land which they [*] had found in a state of nature, that they had less now to do at New Harmony, wanted a new situation to work upon, and he added half smiling, That it had been foretold to him that he should remove to this last settlement & die here.—It would however appear from general report that the Society, has found New Harmony unhealthy as well as subject to heat & confined air; arising from flat land, rich vegetation & stagnant waters; But of this subject hereafter. In the evening Mr. Bakewell & his son, Mr. Baldwin, and Mr. Sutton, called & had a long conversation with Mr. Owen.—Mr. Baldwin gave Mr. Owen a printed copy of his speeches in congress & the report of a committee on trade and restrictions on commerce. Mr. Sutton informed me that Mr. Baldwin was in congress, but finding that he could make no impression on the house, he had for the last 2 years declined being returned member. Mr. Sutton is himself [*] a candidate & gave me his printed letter recommending himself.—Mr. Rapp has been 20 years in this country. He brought but a small capital with him & from 3 to 500 people very poor. His first settlement was above Pittsburgh. He sunk all his capital, & the merchants with

(Sunday 5th.
Decr. cont'd)

whom he had transacted business, refused to give him credit. Mr. Sutton, however, who was at that time in great business, advanced him such articles as he had occasion for. The Society soon began to flourish, and in 10 years time were enabled to purchase the Property of New Harmony on the Wabash river. This they have now possessed for 10 years, and have become so rich that they have been able, besides rendering New Harmony a complete town fitted for 800 persons (their actual number) to purchase their new property near Pittsburgh and build another town upon it. We were likewise informed that Mr. Rapp had lately lodged 150,000\$ in the Pittsburg bank, and it seemed to be the impression among [*] those who had some knowledge of their proceedings, that in a very few years they would be the richest association in the U. States & wealthy enough to buy a whole state.—Mr. Speakman in the course of the evening brought a friend in to tell Mr. Owen that from his personal knowledge New Harmony and its neighbourhood were unhealthy, and that members of the Society had been heard to say soon after their arrival there that they would, as soon as their funds should permit, remove to another situation. Mr. Speakman intended to start back to Philadelphia the next morning. A Baker of the name of McNevin called in to see Mr. Owen & wish him success. He gave him a manuscript and asked him to peruse it at his leisure.—About 3 years ago a debating society was established in this town. One of the questions debated was whether the Scriptures were the Word of God. There were many speakers on both sides of the question, and the subject sufficiently interested the [*] clergy to induce them to send some of their dependents to defend their cause. McNevin & another person spoke against the Scriptures and drew a strong party with them. As these men were well considered for their morality & general character, it was judged necessary to stop their tide of success by prosecuting them on an old law of Pensylvania, made while it was a colony & not since repealed, which sentenced to fine & imprisonment for speaking against the Word of God. McNevin's companion was tried first, found guilty & sentenced to pay a fine of 5\$ & the costs. By this time the whole proceeding became

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so unpopular, that the judge desired to terminate the proceedings as quickly as possible. He discovered that the law was confined to extempore harangues, and as McNevin had written his discourse & then read it, the judge directed the jury to clear him of the charge. The prisoner therefore declined delivering a long defence which he had prepared; but the jury brought him in so far guilty as to enable them to sentence him to pay costs. McNevin was so irritated [*] at this manoeuvre that he refused to pay them, and went to prison. The business was soon hushed up, and he was set at liberty.

A little before ten o'clock we left Pittsburg in the Pennsylvania steam boat, drawing 3 1/2 feet of water. There were other boats ready to go down the river, but as the rise of water had been but inconsiderable they could not set out. [As the night had been frosty, and as the waters of the Alleghany and Monongahela, did not appear to be rising, a general apprehension seemed to be entertained that the Ohio would be stopped with ice in a day or two, & that the other boats would find it difficult to get down the river for some time.—] Mr. Sutton & Mr. Bakewell were on the river side to take leave of us. Mr. Bakewell's second son went in the same steam boat as far as Maysville. The owner of the boat, Mr. Hart, was on board. The Captain's name was Cunningham. We had from 20 to 30 cabin passengers, and 10 or a dozen deck ones. As the boat was of a small size we were much crowded, and although it was snowing & freezing the whole day, the cabin was disagreeably close & heated. The table was cleanly served and amply provided. Among the passengers were a Mr. Turner & Mr. Wilson, both tradesmen [*] and great friends to the System of United Interests and Education without reward or punishment. Mr. Wilson left us at Wheeling. He came in the same boat for the purpose of conversing with Mr. Owen. Mr. Turner had for some time belonged to a set of about 30 families in Pittsburg who wished to join an Association, but had not yet been able to understand how to set about such a new arrangement. He had in his charge an Irish lady who was going to join her friends who are established in Cincinnati. A Mr. & Mrs. Drake & a young man, all

Monday 6th.
Decr.

comedians, were likewise cabin passengers. Our rate of going was from 8 to 9 miles an hour, but as the river was shallow in several places, and as we had frequently to pass through narrow channels between islands which were much obstructed by logs and by sunken trees whose tops just reached the surface of the water, the force of the steam was often diminished so as to enable the helmsman to steer clear of them. In the course [*] of our voyage down we passed three steamboats, two of which were aground & the third had come to anchor for want of water. In the evening we passed Steubenville, 73 miles, where some passengers landed; and at night we reached Wheeling, 96 miles; Here we remained till the moon rose, and then continued our course. The next morning, 6 or 7 miles above Marietta, we passed a steam boat aground [(The Congress)].—She had left Wheeling on Friday last & was full of passengers, none of whom would our Captain take on board although they very much wished it. We passed Marietta, 183 miles, soon after breakfast. It seemed to be a flourishing little place, and rapidly encreasing. The banks of the river were every where hilly & woody with flat and rich land forming the vale through which it flowed. During the spring floods, the river always rises above 20 feet higher than it is in the autumn months. Sometimes its rise exceeds [*] 30 feet, when many farms & buildings on the water's edge are much injured. The marks of the height to which the waters sometimes reach, were visible on the banks, bark of the trees and the bare roots of the varieties of trees which thickly covered the river's banks.—[This evening Mr. Drake played on the violin & accompanied his friend who sang several songs. About 11 o'clock at night we over took a float, or barge, in which were Mr. Alexander Drake & his wife & children, Miss Drake, and one or two of their company. They had been tired of waiting for the rise of the river, & had started 9 days before us in this float. Taking this party on board occasioned quite a theatrical bustle.] [This afternoon we passed the Courier steam boat aground in the narrow channel at Amberson's Island, 227 miles.—] Wood was taken in at Wheeling. We carried about six cords at a time. A cord is 8 feet long & 4 feet wide & high.

Tuesday 7th.
Decr.

(Tuesday 7th.
Decr. contd)

The price of a cord was from 1 1/4\$ to 1 1/2\$. This morning just before breakfast we ran along side a boat fastened to the river side, loaded with wood, and took the wood on board in a quarter of an hour. While this was doing, some of the passengers landed and went into the log house near the edge of the bank. Here we found the females of a neat family, a mother & 2 daughters, in a large clean room containing three beds. They were easy & simple in their manners and very obliging. A large fire was blazing, & a pretty young woman sat knitting by the side of it. A few acres of land were cleared around this dwelling, and the whole was encircled to the river's side by a forest of high trees. They [*] said that they were comfortable, but that it was a lonely dwelling, far from society & bad roads to all their neighbours.—A little before sunset we arrived at Maysville, situated at the mouth of Limestone Creek, 441 miles. Here Mr. Drake's party quitted us, as they were to proceed thence the next morning to Frankfort through Lexington.—Mr. Drake, the father, emigrated to this country from England 14 years ago. He now owns four theatres, those of Lexington, Frankfort, Louisville and Cincinnati. The eldest son's wife is cousin to the famous little actress Clara Fisher. The second son's wife we were told, was the best actress in the United States. They told us that in Lexington is to be found the genteelest society in the Western States, in Frankfort pleasant retirement; but in Louisville abundance of gay & agreeable society. Balls they said were constantly given, as well as good concerts, there being several clever performers. Among the number they mentioned a Spanish violin player, whom they recommended us strongly to visit. Maysville is a thriving town, beautifully situated on fertile land above the reach of the [*] river floods, & inclosed by picturesque hills covered with a fine forest of lofty timber. I had purchased the Ohio & Mississippi Navigator, a small volume which gives the distances, directions for the navigation of the rivers, and describes the places situated on their banks. It cost me a dollar and proved extremely well worth its cost. At Maysville we took several passengers on board, & a carriage & a couple of horses. Among the new arrivals

Wednesday 8th.
Decr.

were two Professors belonging to Nashville on the Cumberland river in Kentucky [Drs. Chase & Lindsay & their wives & children]. They had waited for 4 weeks at Wheeling in constant expectation of the rising of the river. At length when the frost came on, they became alarmed at the prospect of both the land & water carriage being stopped up, and set out by land. The[y] found the Ohio road bad & with difficulty reached the river again at West Union, where they crossed by the horse ferry boat to Maysville. There are several horse ferry boats on the river wherever towns are situated.—[very little snow had fallen in this part of the country. Though the whole of this day was cloudy, yet it was not freezing.] When the moon rose we again set out.

Thursday 9th.
Dec^r.

A little before day-break we reached Cincinnati, 514 miles which is generally [*] considered the most flourishing & best situated town on the west of the Alleghany mountains. As soon as it was day, we walked through several of the streets, which are well built, wide & drawn at right angles, having a main street, broad-way, cross streets numbered from the river inland, a market-place & town house,—In this town there is a high, circular artificial mound of earth, one of many which are supposed to have been the work of the original inhabitants of this country, before the time of the Indians who have not been known to construct any of these elevations. Their use seems to have been for the burial of their dead.—Twenty one years ago the spot on which Cincinnati stands was a forest. It is now inhabited by 13,000 persons.—We left this place about 11 o'clock. The morning was remarkably fine & the air mild. No snow was on the ground. The hills in many parts rose from the margin of the water, which flowed slowly on at the rate of about 2 miles an hour, reflecting on its smooth surface its woody banks. We met a fine steam boat, Mexico, going up the river. We stopped twice to [*] take in wood. We landed and visited the people it belonged to. They resided in small log houses, which looked lonely and poor. They complained of sickness, fever & ague, occasioned by the cold mists rising from the river. One family resident here about 5 years, was not at all contented with its lot. The Mother said that the

(Thursday 9th.
Dec^r, cont^d)

year after their arrival they would have returned to the State of New York from which they came; but she had thought herself too old to move about. They thanked us for landing to see them, for they seldom had visitors. The eldest daughter was asked if she never went to merry meetings in the neighbourhood. She replied that there were some occasionally, but that they were far off and very difficult to get to as the roads were so bad. We wished to have some milk & some apples, but though they offered to give us some we refused to take them as they had but a small stock for themselves. Thus in a country rich in natural advantages, single families live in low circumstances, and enjoy none of those comforts which they would so easily secure to themselves, were they to [*] settle together in larger numbers having a common interest, and bringing the arts to their aid and intelligent & experienced managers to organize their associations. [Upon leaving Pittsburg the river passes between the States of Ohio & Indiana & Illinois on the right bank, and Pensylvania, Virginia & Kentucky, on the left bank.] In the course of the evening several of the deck passengers were joined by some of the cabin ones, and spent three or four hours singing merry songs. All the females sang in turn, and though no elegance of manner was shewn & no charming melody heard, yet natural good fellowship and a friendly desire to please, made the time pass away in a very social & agreeable manner. [The weather was temperate. In the course of the evening it became cloudy & began to rain. The rain though gentle continued all night.]

About 4 o'clock this morning we arrived at Louisville, and at daybreak landed and went to Mr. Allen's hotel called Washington Hall. This is a large house and appears well kept. As it was a rainy morning Mr. Allen sent a carriage down to the quai to bring the ladies up to his house. Hunter having business at Shippingport, took a carriage and went there direct. After breakfast Mr. Owen went out to deliver letters. He then went in a carriage to Shippingport, distant 2 miles and at the bottom of the Falls over which the Ohio passes [*] from Louisville to Shippingport. When the waters are high the steam boats can descend the Rapids; but

Friday 10th.
Decr.

at this time they could not be passed. At Shippingport, Mr. Owen found a steamboat, the Favorite, which he was told would start on Sunday next. All the births were taken.—However it is probable that in a day or two after the water is high enough for one to set out, that others which are there, will be ready to set out. Mr. Owen was informed that births had been taken in the Favorite by the English travelling M Ps, and that they were at present lodged at Union Hall hotel in Louisville.—We sat down about 50 to breakfast. At dinner there were about the same number. However we dined in the ladies' dining room with the two professors; but this is not usual, & therefore not agreeable.—Mr. Turner introduced his partner Mr. Reader. We dined in the ladies dining room with Mrs. Allan, wife of the Master of the Hotel, some of her female friends, and with Drs. Lindsay & Chase & their ladies. It is not customary for gentlemen to dine in the ladies room, unless they are married or belong to a ladies' party. After dinner we had a short walk in the town, but as it was wet we soon returned. I had some conversation [*] with a Mr. Hogan, a merchant who had been in Mexico relative to the affairs of Spanish America. He thought that their physical force would protect them, but he considered the mass of the people to be very degraded in mind & feelings, though in many instances a goodlooking race. The Mexican government at present is a Military despotism, but it is introducing schools & endeavouring to educate the people, while the Priesthood are greatly averse to such a proceeding and to a great degree render all their efforts of no avail.—After tea Mr. Owen shewed and explained his Plans to the two Professors & their ladies, who were much pleased and expressed a great wish to see Mr. Owen successful in convincing the public of the utility of his plans and in inducing them to promote the same. In the evening I had a conversation with a gentleman who gave me the following return of the several States of the Union, the number of votes which each had, and the State of the poles of the four candidates for the next presidentship (see the accompanying printed return)

After breakfast I [*] went with Mr. Flower to call at Union Hall Hotel upon the four M P's. They had, however,

gone out to the country to dine at Judge Ormsby's, 12 miles from town. I then went and took a walk round the town with W^m. Owen. Louisville contains about 4000 inhabitants. It is the resort of a great many strangers employed on commercial business. There was a considerable bustle of business going on. The town stands on a bank of sand around which there is every appearance that the waters of the Ohio passed before they formed their present passage over the rapids. The principal street runs parallel to the river, leading in one direction to Lexington & in the other to Shippingport which is about 2 1/2 miles distant, being a small dirty village by the river side just below the rapids. It is here that the larger steamboats lay which trade down the Ohio & Mississippi. At the back of the town of Louisville and extending into the woods, are several large brick houses and farms. [At half a mile from the town there are ponds extending to the distance of 18 miles, which render the place unhealthy.] Beyond these and in the woods the ground is low & wet. There are built or building in the town, a public hospital, episcopal baptist methodist & presbyterian churches, and a market place. Some of the streets are paved, & have several large houses; others are merely marked out by palings and a few [*] scattered small houses of wood. All the people appeared to be men of business & tradesmen. This town being in the slave state of Kentucky, we every where saw a great many black slaves. [Mr. Owen called on a Mr. Jacobs who has a good brick house at the back of the town; he also wrote part of a short outline of the principles & practices which he proposes. In the evening he went to a gentleman's party Mr. Nielson's with Mr. Thorn, where he met Mr. Dennison & La Broché. There was nothing done but card playing which Mr. Owen did not join in.] This being the rainy season, the place seemed muddy & uncomfortable, but as the soil is sandy, the rain soon sinks in. We understood that much dissipation prevails here, drinking & gambling &c. This mode of life is one great source of ill health. On the opposite side of the river which is nearly a mile wide, stands the small place called Jeffersonville in Indiana, from which there is a cross road through the woods to Vincennes, distant 107 miles, and thence on to St. Louis

(Saturday 11th.
Decr. contd)

on the Missouri. A 4 horse stage travels this road once a week. It takes 4 days between Louisville & Vincennes. I was told that the land on the Indiana side is not so rich or valuable as on the Kentucky side of the river. At a distance we could observe some rising lands in Indiana.—After dinner we walked over some meadow land by the side of the river between Louisville & Shippingport. We met Hunter who pointed out to us the Honey Locust tree, covered with strong prickles. It bears a long pod containing a substance something resembling honey. He likewise shewed us a small silk plant, bearing pods containing a substance of a silky nature. This plant he had seen more in the interior growing to a considerable size & covering a large extent of land.—In the evening [*] I accompanied Hunter on board the Favorite steamboat. I then learnt that she would not start till Monday morning. Hackney coaches are in readiness all day long to take passengers down to Shippingport. The fare is 25 cents each. [This day was fine, & mild. The thermometer was about 60° in the shade.]

Sunday 12th.
Decr.

After breakfast Mr. Owen shewed his plans to a General Brackenridge & Mr. Allan the Master of the house. They much admired them. While Mr. Owen called upon Mr. Dennison & the other M P's, Wm. Owen & myself went to the Presbyterian church, where we heard Mr. Chase preach. There were about one hundred of the congregation present. They were plain, decently dressed people. The day was rainy. A mist gathered over the river & for a short time extended a little into the town. The temperature was 61°. In the evening the rain fell heavy. I wrote to my uncle Lewis [?].—We inclosed our letters to Jeremiah Thompson New York & paid the postage 25 cents for a single letter, as I was informed that a foreign letter, although the postage should be paid, would not be shipped unless sent to some agent at a sea port, or the packet happened to have a bag at the General Post office.

Monday 13th.
Decr.

After breakfast we sent our baggage in a cart & went in a stage down to Shippingport, and embarked on board the Favorite. Capt'n Shelcross. This boat had been built more [*] for freight than passengers, their being only births for 4 ladies and 16 gentlemen. These had all been

taken for several days, and such a cargo of goods & sheep had been taken on board that the vessel was nearly upset. We did not get under weigh till about one o'clock. The day was very fine and the scenery, though not hilly, appeared extremely well. In consequence of the number of passengers the dinner was quite a scramble. We had pleasant conversations with the English Travellers on board, and with a variety of Americans who were descending the river on business. Dr. Chase & his wife were on board. There was likewise a Passenger who had some slaves whom he was taking to Market for sale. These poor beings did not at first appear in a very good humour, but afterwards they seemed to recover themselves, and I could not distinguish between them & some others who were employed on board as part of the crew. It is singular to a person with a reflecting mind, to be for the first time in the midst of fellow creatures, only differing from himself in colour & and a character degraded by [*] unnatural treatment from birth, to see them treated like beasts going to market, and to hear them as well as their masters and mistresses talking of one another's value, who had bought and sold them & the prices given. However the dealers in such goods may be admitted into & fitted for civilized society, there can be no doubt that their feelings must be greatly impaired, and and their minds deranged by such barbarous and irrational customs. At sunset we stopped to take in wood. We landed on the Kentucky side, but only found one poor log house and a poor family. They told us that sometimes when the water rose very high, it passed over their land, and that they had once seen a boat float in at the front door & out at the back door of their house.—As the night was dark we lay at this place till the moon got us.—As everything was in confusion on board we got no tea, and only a scrambling supper. After the births were occupied, beds were made on the floor in a very imperfect manner for the rest of the passengers, amounting in number to 19 persons. I lay [*] with Hunter & W^m. Owen on a bag of feathers, with my cloak over me.—We descended this day only about 25 miles, our vessel being so heavily laden that she made but slow progress.

(Monday 13th
Decr. contd)

Tuesday 14th.
Dec^r.

About 3 o'clock we were again in motion. During our stay, the water wheels had been cut to suit the depth of water drawn by our boat: this facilitated our motion so that we went much quicker than the preceding day. The day was extremely fine. The river was wider, the current very little, and the banks nearly flat & covered with wood. [We passed a pretty looking settlement on the right bank.] Very little land on either side had been cleared. We ran about 150 miles & stopped at sunset on the Kentucky side to take in wood. There several of us, Hunter, W^m. Owen, Mr. Stanley, Mr. Dennison, Mr. Wortley & myself, amused ourselves till one o'clock in the morning making large bonfires in the woods. We set fire to 3 large trees, and burnt one down. We then roasted some beef steaks at the fires & drank porter. The cottager on whose ground we were staid with us, and amused himself much seeing [*] us clearing his land for him.

Wednesday 15th.
Dec^r.

About 4 o'clock the boat again set off. After a bright starlight & frosty night, the sun rose with great brilliancy. We proceeded at the rate of six or seven miles through the water, besides the current of the river which varied from one to two or three miles an hour; but generally very slow. The land on either side was low, and the river widened in some places to half a mile. About 10 o'clock we passed the* [*a neat settlement called Owensburg & soon after the] mouth of the Green river which is a quiet stream, having a large & long course into the interior of Kentucky—^owe passed some rich land on the left bank called the Walnut ridge, & afterwards] stopped between 2 & 3 hours at a small settlement on the right bank in Indiana called Evansville, where some barrels of pork were shipped, & one or two passengers taken on board. While this was doing we walked about the place. It stands at a bend of the river on the edge of the bank, which is higher here than any where in the immediate neighbourhood and a little above the level of the highest rises of the river. The view of the river is pleasing, but on the whole the place has a dull and [*] uninteresting appearance. The greater part of the settlement consists of log houses, built in an irregular manner. There are only a few hundred yards of land cleared in the rear

of the houses, beyond which a thick forest shuts out the flat view. [Evansville is 27 or 28 miles from Harmonie by a tolerable horse road through the woods.] Eight miles lower down the river we passed another settlement of less extent on the left bank, and soon after sunset came too close to the right bank below Mount Vernon settlement, which is of the same character as Evansville, only of a more recent date & smaller. All these settlements we were told were advancing but slowly, & we observed a silence & dullness about them which seemed to confirm such an opinion. The distance by water to Mount Vernon from Louisville is nearly 300 miles, the river making several considerable bends to all points of the compass;—The fall of the river is very little, therefore its current is slow. As the land through which it winds is low & of a loose sandy clay, the river washes the banks away, spreads wide forms a great many islands, and has but an inconsiderable depth during the low water. [*] It is then necessary that vessels drawing 6 or 8 feet water should be careful to keep the deepest channel and steer across the river where it bends.—We had supper when we landed and were moderately put up at the inn. (Wednesday 15th. Dec^r. cont^d)

About seven o'clock we rose breakfasted, and set out in two four horse waggons for Harmonie. As the waggons travelled slowly Mr. Albers & myself walked forward. The road lay through the forest. It crossed over a few trifling risings and then continued flat, sandy & muddy. Occasionally we passed log houses with a few acres cleared around them. The inhabitants replied to our questions in a friendly manner; but living so much out of the world several appeared shy & without animation. We crossed a creek between 20 & 30 feet wide called Big creek, and after walking two miles further we reached Springfield, a small settlement surrounded by the forest. This is the county Town. It is 8 1/2 miles from Mount Vernon & 7 1/2 from Harmonie. The County is called Posie. It is 400 sq. miles in extent. It consists of a square brick building for the courthouse, [*] which stands in the center of a small square of detached wooden buildings. One of these is an Inn kept by a german of the name of Schnee. Here we ordered dinner & waited for two hours expecting our party's Thursday the 16th. Dec^r.

arrival; but they had taken a road to the left, which did not pass through Springfield; It was a mile shorter, though a much worse road.—While we were waiting Mr. Stewart a lawyer came in & conversed with us. He told us that the people of the county were dissatisfied at Springfield being made the county town. Some wished it to be Harmonie, others M. Vernon. It is likely to be as it is, while so much disagreement prevails relative to the proper place for it. On learning that our friends had taken the other road we dined. Mr. Schnee proposed accompanying us to Harmonie on horseback, and taking turns to ride & walk. We gladly accepted his company. From Springfield the road was a little better. The timber in the forest was tall but not enormously thick. We remarked large vines covering many of the largest trees, stretching from the ground 40 or 50 feet to the first branch on which they are fastened; thus shewing that these [*] trees & vines must have grown up together. The forest was composed of varieties of oaks, of beeches, tulip trees, white & black walnuts, [Dog-wood & ash] & mulberry. The number of dead leaves & decayed trees made the soil of a fat nature. We saw a great number of little birds, wood peckers, some parroquets, and several covies of very tame partridges. Mr. Schnee told us that wild turkies & geese, opossums, racoons & deer, were in abundance, and that two fine venison hams would cost about half a dollar. Rattle snakes are common, but no one has the least fear of them; they always give warning by their rattles, and then children are very fond of running after them to kill them which is easily done as they cannot move away fast and as a blow from a small stick kills them. Mr. Schnee said that the climate is not very unhealthy, but that they are subject to agues. The winter is not extremely cold nor the summer oppressively hot. They have mosquitoes in the summer time, but do not mind them much.—We met a person on horseback who we learnt was Major General Wilson, the mail contractor, himself carrying the mail as he was going round his district making some new regulations. Halfway from Springfield to Harmonie we came upon the Harmonie grounds, good soil & waving land. In one or two places the land had been cleared and log houses built. These farms

had been let to the country people, who [*] paid grain rents—ten bushels an acre of Indian corn, and one third of the crops of wheat. About one mile from Harmonie, we opened upon the cleared lands, consisting of good sheep-walks over rolling ground & knolls. These lands are about an hundred feet higher than the flat alluvial soil on the river side on which the town of Harmonie is situated. From this elevation we looked north west down upon the flat land half a mile wide. About 3000 acres of land is cleared around the village. In the back ground lay the Wabash river about 100 yards wide, backed by the forest on its right bank, & lost in the forests above & below the village. On the side of the hills were the vineyards; & to the left of the road down to the village, lay meadows, orchards and a neatly designed labyrinth. The village stood about a couple of hundred yards nearer to us than the river on rather a more elevated bottom, the space between being subject to inundation for a few weeks during the height of the floods in March. This ground however is cultivated after the waters run off & yield a fine produce. The ground on the right and between the village & the hills was divided into corn fields. The village consisted of four streets running towards the river, & six crossing [*] these. In the middle was an open space in which stood a wooden church with a steeple, and close to it a large new brick church, which I afterwards learnt was built to replace the old one which was not large enough. In various streets stood large & small brick habitations, but the majority of the houses were either log houses or small wooden ones. At the back of the houses were gardens, all divided by wooden palings. The village had a dark appearance, occasioned by unpainted wood exposed to the air becoming of a dusky slate colour; but the red bricks formed an agreeable contrast. To a traveller just emerging from a forest where little or no improvement has taken place, and remembering the many days he has spent in wandering through a thinly peopled & badly cultivated country, the view from these hilly pastures down upon a rich plain, flourishing village, and picturesque river winding through a magnificent forest, is highly gratifying. Then are his [*] eyes opened to the benefits attending the

(Thursday 16th.
Decr. contd)

union of numbers, and he hastens on with desire to enjoy the society of beings who, having made so great an improvement, he expects must be of a superior order. Entering the village we overtook two teams, and saluted the drivers, who appeared plain, simple, hard working men. The horses were small but handsome. The Inn is a large plain built wooden house, standing on one side of the open space. Near it is a large brick house belonging to Mr. Rapp, and another which is a public store or shop where all articles are for sale. Here the country people from a distance round come to deal, but they must pay ready money for every thing. On the front of the Inn is painted Private Entertainment, which enables the landlord to enforce a regulation to turn out all irregular or drunken persons. Our party had arrived at 2 o'clock & dined, & when we reached the Inn we found that Mr. Owen & his son had gone out with Mr. Frederick Rapp. I followed them & was introduced to Mr. Rapp who is a tall, rawboned, sallow complexioned, serious & plain german. He wore a small [*] crowned hat with a large brim over long brown hair, and a loose grey surtout. He took us up to the top of his father's house, from which we had a good view of the village. [The village is about 600 yards long & between 400 & 500 yards wide.] We then returned to the inn for the rest of the evening.—We had tea & supper between 6 & 7 o'clock at which were two or three persons from the country, who were stopping at the inn for the night. Among the number was Mr. Stewart from Springfield.

Friday 17th.
Dec^r.

[Temperature this morning 54°. It rained hard all night. The wind was easterly. It continued cloudy all day.] After breakfast we accompanied Mr. Rapp to visit the two churches, and ascended to the top of the new one from which we had a still better view of the village. [Mr. F Rapp informed us that the band of the village sometimes assembled on the top of the church to play to the village.] Adjoining to Mr. Rapp's house is a garden in which the old gentleman takes great pleasure to work. In the center is a small mound of petrefactions made at a spring on the Harmonie Property.

In the yard is a large lime stone slab, bearing the impression of two naked feet and an irregular square drawn seemingly by the point of a stick. This slab was found on the banks of the Missouri not far from St. Louis by Mr. Frederick Rapp who sent a boat for it. He conjectures that at some distant period while the materials of it were in a soft state, an Indian [*] might have stood there and drew the line marking the irregular shape. These materials must have afterwards been petrefied by some natural process. The portion on which the impressions are was cut off.—Adjoining to the garden is a moveable greenhouse, made to pull during the frosty weather over some fine orange & lemon shrubs. Behind this is a lofty brick granary built in the german fashion, to keep the grain cool. There is another of wood at one corner of the village, near which are three wooden buildings, one a large barn, & thrashing machine moved by 8 horses, another a cotton and woolen manufactory & dying house, with a steam engine, and the third a cotton mill, worked by an inclined circular plane moved by a horse & an ox. Under the new church are two cellars for wine, cider & beer. Over the church & under the roof is a large room, where the population may meet when they give great entertainments; but the building is not yet finished. We afterwards went through the granaries, the store, the barn & manufactories, and some of the dwelling houses. The store is divided into several rooms well arranged. The manufactories are small and do not contain many of the late improvements in machinery. The work people [*] do not seem very expert at their work. The larger dwelling houses are of brick. Galleries run through the center of them. The Women's apartments, opening one into the other, are on one side and the men's on the other. Stoves stand in the middle of the rooms. The people keep their rooms too warm and close, which evidently gives them a pale & unhealthy appearance. At eleven o'clock we found them all going home to dinner. The soil on which the village stands is sandy. The streets had not been made



(Friday 17th.
Decr. cont^d)

with much attention, and the rain water lay in several places, but soon sank into the ground.—At one o'clock we dined with Mr. F. Rapp. His niece was at table. She is a young and pleasing person. The dinner was good. We drank some red & white wine made in the village. It was of a pleasant quality. We likewise tasted cider & beer made here; both very good. After dinner Mr. Rapp's niece played on the piano, and sang some german airs accompanied by three of the females who were sent for.—We then walked through the blacksmith's & coopers' shops, the cow houses, and looked into the deer yard. We saw some fine cattle and a beautiful elk. [*] In the cotton manufactory we remained some time, & Mr. Owen shewed them a few alterations in their manner of working which they ought to make. While we were there the females from two rooms 10 in numbers, assembled and sung us some german songs on the subject of friendship, composed & harmonized by themselves. It was pleasing & well done, but too much in a melancholy dull style, & without sufficient animation.—This evening Mr. George Flower arrived from Albion to meet his father. [This evening we had wind & rain from the South West.]

Saturday 18th.
Decr.

[Thermometer this morning 30°. About 8 o'clock this morning Mr. Ronald's arrived. He came to the ferry last night, but the weather being stormy & the night dark, the ferry man could not venture across with him.] After breakfast we walked with Mr. Rapp to the labyrinth & vineyards, which were well laid out. From some of the knolls where the vines were trained, we had a good view of the village. The vineyards are fenced in. On our return we visited the hatter's shop, the shoemaker's, the tannery, and a room where the females were making clothes. All appeared actively employed. Between 11 & 12 o'clock, Mr. Rapp having some business with his people, we walked down to the ferry, where we found 3 or 4 flats lying, and one lately made by the Harmonites. In these flats they send their produce to the market at New Orleans.—At 12 o'clock Mr. Rapp dined with [*] us at the Inn. After dinner he supplied us with horses, and we rode with him four miles to a corn mill, which they have erected on a small passage of the Wabash which separates a large flat, & forms a short

cut where the river makes a considerable bend. They have built a strong & large wooden mill close to a dam which the[y] have thrown entirely across this cut. There is water all the year to turn this mill which grinds for a great many of their neighbours. At the back of the mill the ground rises from one to two hundred feet, and the bank contains good free stone. From the mill we rode through the forest nearly to the Springfield road, and found a good many parts of the higher ground in the woods level and well situated as sites for villages. We returned between 3 & 4 o'clock. This day was cold, cloudy & frosty. In the morning & forenoon there was a good deal of wind, which frequently blew a good deal of sand along the street roads. In the evening the wind decreased.

[In the night it froze a little. This morning the temperature was 26°. Weather cloudy.] At nine o'clock the church bell called the Population to Divine Service. It was an interesting sight to see the males & females [*] coming in strings to the church from the different parts of the village. The men dress in a plain blue, brown frock coat or surtout, trowsers & shoes; the females wear white caps, checked neck handkerchiefs, cloth gowns, and checked aprons. They all had a stouter & healthier appearance this morning than when we saw them at their work. There were a good many young persons among them, and we understood that they had several children who remained at home. The men in general had strong and coarse features. They all wore long loose hair. The females occupied half the church, the males the other half. Mr. Frederick Rapp sat at an elevated desk and gave out the psalms and preached. His sermon was about friendship, working for one another, having common property, and the approaching millenium, which would be brought about by these & such like practices & method of life. There was a mildness & amiable expression of countenance in the whole congregation which was extremely pleasing. Several of both the males & females were good looking strong & healthy, and a very general contentment seemed to prevail among them. The service lasted about an hour & a half. [There were about 500 persons present.] We dined between 11 & 12 o'clock.

Sunday 19th.
Decr.

(Sunday 19th.
Decr. contd)

Between 12 & 1 o'clock. The village band [*] consisting of 8 or 10 wind instruments, assembled in front of Mr. Rapp's house, played one or two slow movements and then preceded us into the church.—We were followed by about 300 of the inhabitants, mostly of the younger part of the population. We remained there between one & two hours, which time was devoted to music & singing psalms. The males and females are formed into sections of 8 or 10. They are in the habit of assembling together for the purpose of practising singing. The verses which they select, they themselves arrange, to music and sing in parts. Mr. Rapp called out 8 or ten sections to sing, after which the females retired. We then quitted the church followed by the males. There was an afternoon service similar to the morning one, which we did not attend. The afternoon which was very fine, clear & frosty, was spent by us in walking and riding. At six o'clock we drank tea at Mr. Rapp's, after which about a dozen of the young men & women came in and the rest of the evening was occupied with music. Mr. Rapp's neice Miss Gertrude Rapp played the piano, Dr. Millar an elderly person who was formerly physician & surgeon to the Society & who now is schoolmaster, played the violin, two of the men played [*] flutes, and the women sang. A variety of music was performed. The Canadian Boat Song, All's well, Away with Melancholy, were sung out of compliment to our party. We retired about nine o'clock.

From Monday
20th, Decr. to
Monday 27th.
Decr.

(About half past 10 o'clock on Monday 20th. inst. Mr. Ronalds, Miss Ronalds, Wm. Owen & myself set out on horseback for Mr. Flower's place near Albion Town in Edwards County in the State of Illinois; leaving Mr. Owen to inspect more fully and at his leisure the Harmony Estate, and to shew & explain his plans to Mr. Frederick Rapp. Wm. Owen & myself left our Portmanteaus to come in a cart with Mr. Owen's baggage when he should set out, and only brought a change of linen in our pockets. The day though frosty was beautifully fine. We crossed the Wabash by the ferry, which is kept by an American, and passed through a thick wood filled with canes with a green leaf upon them, across a flat island to Fox's Creek which we

forded. In the time of floods this island, except in the center is overflowed & the creek cannot be forded. The part of the island which is not subject to be overflowed belongs to the Harmonites. The road is merely a track cut through the forest, and in consequence of its flatness and of the richness of the soil, is deep & bad. The frost had however hardened [*] the ground & rendered it tolerable riding. In these cane bottoms the wolves take shelter. They have destroyed many of the sheep belonging to the Harmonites. After crossing Fox's Creek we ascended an undulating country, almost entirely covered with oak timber. After riding from 20 to 25 miles from Harmonie we opened upon the English Prairie, an open space of about 4000 acres of good land covered with long wild grass, with a few scattered clumps of trees & surrounded by the forest. The scene had the appearance of a fine and extensive Park. Here & there on the skirts of the woods we could perceive the habitations of English settlers from whom this prairie derives its name. Prairie is the name which the French settlers who in the course of the past century established themselves at New Orleans Vincennes, St. Louis & the surrounding country, gave to these open tracts of country, and it has from usage been adopted into the English language. The cause of their formation seems yet to be a question, though it be generally considered that fierce fires so thoroughly destroyed the roots of the trees as to prevent any regrowth of timber. Towards the close of the year and during the Indian summer when [*] the long prairie grass is both dry & dead, frequent fires take place. Some are accidental, but most of them are done designedly by the inhabitants who take advantage of a wind blowing from their premises to fire the grass, and send the danger in a different direction. For the fire is so rapid when the wind is high, that it flies over the land at a horse's speed, frequently destroying the fences & farm yards on the borders of the forest to which its course is directed. When any such danger is apprehended, the farmer towards whose property the fire is advancing, will if time permit, call in the assistance of his neighbours, pull down fences attempt to beat out the flames, or light a fire near to his own

premises & direct its course to meet the other fire. The destruction by these fires of fences & hay & corn stacks is so common & timber & food so plentiful in this country, that the natives talk of them with apparent unconcern. Riding with a party to view the country we passed a farmer & his little boy toiling away with long shovels, beating out a fire, and after looking on for a few minutes continued our ride without any further notice.—About 1/2 past four we [*] reached Mr. Flower's Place, situated on the northern skirt of the English Prairie, & about a mile south of the settlement town of Albion. In the year 1816 Mr. George Flower & Mr. Birkbeck came over to America for the purpose of fixing upon an eligible settlement. In the course of the following year they visited this place, and being struck with the beauty of the scene, its similarity to England, & the facility of cultivating a large tract of good land already cleared of timber, they purchased several thousand acres both of prairie & woodland which they divided. Mr. Birkbeck afterwards called his place Wanbro. His house is two miles from Albion which was fixed upon by Mr. Flower and some who came from England with him as a convenient situation for a town. The surrounding trees were cut down to build temporary log houses, after which a few brick & stone & frame houses were commenced. The place is as yet very inconsiderable, consisting of only a few houses scattered on each side of the road. It is about 40 miles south of Vincennes. A horse post passes through this place once a week to Shawneetown which stands on the low land on the banks of the Ohio near the place where it is joined [*] by the Wabash. Mr. Flower has built himself an English cottage, adjoining to which is a large log house, and offices & farm yard, where his eldest son Mr. George Flower lives. Several acres of land have been enclosed with wooden fences, & cultivated about their houses. Their gardens abound with peach trees, which they informed us yield a profusion of the finest peaches. This place in summer time must be extremely beautiful. At the back & to the right & left of these houses a forest of oaks raises its lofty head, and in front a rich and extensive prairie which is gradually coming into cultivation is spread out. The limits of the

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prairie are lost in the distant woods, clumps of trees decorate its surface, wild deer roam over it, and the cattle & sheep of the farm herd upon it. Half a mile off in different directions, reside Mr. Pickering & Mr. Ronalds, married to two of Mr. Flower's daughters. Mr. Ronalds is building a tannery.—We were received by Mr. Flower & all his family with the utmost hospitality. W^m. Owen lodged in his house, and I at Mr. George Flower's. We had numerous discussions relative to Mr. Owen's views & plans, and I derived much information therefrom. The activity of mind displayed by all the party, aided by their experience acquired by settling in a new [*] country where each often has almost every duty and business to perform, tended to throw much light upon enquiries into the nature of Society and the most beneficial mode of associating & cooperating together. The advantage of the Union of many families for the purpose of mutually assisting one another & at the same time properly dividing & apportioning the various employments, seemed to be well understood, and the want of such an agreement and arrangement forcibly felt by them; but the habits of the Old Country & the difficulties attending novel & extensive arrangements had hitherto prevented the accomplishment of such an enterprise. The next morning, (Tuesday) we walked about the farm, and into the Prairie, and called at several houses. We observed several elevated spots on which villages might be built, and we conversed with some of the farmers on the advantages of Union as the way to produce abundance, and encrease of comfort, and secure an education for their children. On Wednesday we walked to Albion, and I gave letters which had been entrusted to Mr. Owen, to Dr. Spring and Mr. Birkett. Dr. Spring is a young medical gentleman who has I learnt [*] received a good education and is getting into good practice here,—Mr. Birkett is a settler from the West Indies. There is another Doctor living in Albion, Dr. Pugsley. We likewise saw Mr. W^m. Orange who keeps the Washington Tavern, Mr. Wood who keeps a Tavern belonging to Mr. Birkett who lives in the house, Mr. Lewis, a merchant emigrated from London & now living retired here in a small house with his wife & family, and Mr. Johnston a blacksmith (late a stone mason). As he is

one of the justices he is called Squire Johnstone.—We looked into a corn mill turned by an inclined circular plane worked by oxen, belonging to Mr. Flower; and we saw a machine with saws for separating the cotton from the seed.—We called on Mr. Pickering, whose wife had a day or two before our arrival been confined. Mr. Pickering is the son of a Yorkshire farmer. He was a land surveyor in England, came out single, & is now a married man with a family & a farmer.—We likewise called on Mr. Ronalds, who lives in a small cottage near his unfinished tannery. He has some patent for tanning. He officiates in turns with Mr. Lewis as clergyman on Sundays, and his congregation meet in a room in Albion. Mrs. Ronalds was in delicate health, being in a fair way to increase her family.—The next day (Wednesday) we rode out with [*] Mr. Flower, Mr. George Flower, Mr. Ronalds & his sister, Mr. Birkett, Dr. Spring & Mr. Wm. Orange with some greyhounds, to have a deer hunt. We passed a field of cotton, of which I gathered a sample. It grows on a small bush in pods which contain the cotton, and which open when ripe. Crossing the prairie to the East we put up two which soon escaped into the woods. We then called on Mr. & Mrs. Daniel Orange who have a farm on the east side of the prairie, and were introduced to Mrs. Jolly.—From Mr. Orange's we crossed through a belt of wood into a small prairie called French Creek Prairie. The grass had been burnt, and we were obliged to return without seeing any deer in it. In the wood we came upon an opossum. It is a small animal, with short legs, having a body about 18 inches long, gray hair, long snout & tail, & large mouth. It laid down and pretended to be dead. The back woodsmen have the expression that a person is opossuming when he is shamming.—As we again crossed the English Prairie we put up 3 or 4 more deer. They bounded over the long grass displaying their white bushy tails, & were soon in the woods. We turned southward along the prairie and soon found as many more, which in like manner went off into the woods. As [*] the grass in this wood had not been burnt, the greyhounds did not once get sight of the deer, and we found it fatiguing work riding through it. Our horses were hardy, and

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displayed more intelligence than I had remarked among horses in England. Here they are little groomed, have to lie out a great deal, and often have to feed themselves. The day was very fine, and the thermometer above temperate in the shade. In the evening I played at chess with Mr. Ronalds. On Friday we walked to Albion, and saw the school kept by Mr. Warington. It is in a small room where he teaches reading writing & arithmetic to about 30 boys & girls.—A County Hall is building in Albion. The brick walls & the roof are finished. We afterwards took the road to Wanbro, and called at Mr. Browns. He is a shoe maker & weaver. His wife is a fine looking woman. They have a large family. They received us in a very friendly manner & we were introduced to their two oldest daughters, both fine young women. Mr. George Flower invited himself and family to drink tea with them on Tuesday next. They hoped that we would be of the party. Mr. Owen arrived about sunset. Mr. Fred. Rapp had delayed his visit till Monday, [*] as he could not be from home Xmas day & Sunday.—Friday evenings are set apart by Mr. Flower and his friends for music.—The party assembled consisted of Mr. & Mrs. Lewis, Mr. & Mrs. Orange & Mrs. Jolly, Mr. Cave, Mr. & Mrs. Carter, Dr. Spring & Mr. Flower's family. In consequence of Mrs. Pickering's confinement the best performer on the piano was absent, but we had a violin violin-cello, flute, & several good voices. Mr. Lewis & his wife sang very prettily together. Mrs. Carter also sang some pretty songs. Mr. Carter is a trader; he trades sometimes with the Indians. I learnt from him that not long since a party of Miami and Kickapoo Indians were hunting in this neighbourhood. It was also said that they were painted for war, and intended going down the river to Tennessee in the spring to fight the Little Osage Tribe, whose lands they wished to occupy. Some few years ago a large party five young men of one of these tribes went down the river in canoes for the same purpose. They stopped at Harmonie had refreshment of corn and water, & continued their journey. They were defeated and all destroyed.—We felt anxious to gain some information where this hunting was at present, but could not obtain any certain [*] informa-

tion.—In the course of the evening we discovered a fire in the southern part of the prairie but as the night was calm it did not blaze very much.—The next morning (Saturday Xmas day) Mr. Flower having prevailed on Mr. Owen to have a meeting to explain his Plans, a notice was written advertising it for the next day at 1/2 past one in Albion. I rode with Mr. George Flower, and left it in Albion. Thence we rode into the East prairie, about two miles distant, called at the Distillery & gave notice, and then went to Mr. Woods farm. Mr. Wood is a farmer from Nottinghamshire. His family live with him. His eldest son is married to the daughter of Mr. Flower's housekeeper. They belonged in England to a society of free thinkers. We had some conversation relative to the advantages of associating in community, which they said that they had wished for a long time. The father said that in England the people could not so soon understand the advantages of such a plan, because they had never, like his family, had the experience of beginning the world in a new country; and the son remarked that he wished to live in such a society—as he was convinced it would be the happiest life that could be led by mankind.—In [*] the evening Mr. Owen had a long argument with Mr. Flower and Mr. Ronalds relative to the consistency of his Principles, their connexion with a religious belief, & the distinctions between right & wrong, virtue & vice.

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Sunday morning we went to meeting held in a room in Albion, where about 2 dozen persons were present. The day was remarkably clear, calm and temperate. A little before 2 o'clock so many persons collected that it was judged necessary to have Mr. Owen's meeting in the open air. Benches were brought out of the houses, & when these were filled numbers sat on the logs of trees which lay on the grass. The meeting consisted of about 200 persons, the great majority of whom were English settlers. Many who are methodists did not attend. There were very few Americans present. The company formed into a ring & Mr. Owen stood in the center and spoke to them for about 2 1/2 hours. All were extremely attentive and both interested and pleased. Husbands brought their wives & daughters, and many infant children were to be seen in their

mothers arms, as they could not be left alone at home. [*] Mr. Owen commenced by congratulating himself at being surrounded by so many speaking his own language & brought up as he had been, & so far from his own home. He then stated the principles of Human Nature that Man's character consists of & is formed first by the Power that creates him & 2^{ndly}. by the circumstances in which he is placed after birth. Thence he traced the effect of charity, kindness & benevolence, and the absence of the angry passions.—He told them that such alone was pure religion, and that they might be certain it did not exist wherever anger, ill will, and uncharitable conduct was found. He^o [°called their attention to the necessity of placing themselves in the best and excluding the worst circumstances.—] commented on the advantages of Union, and spoke of those principles alone being able to produce it. He shewed his plans & read the rules & regulations for a community as drawn out & adopted by the British & Foreign Philanthropic Society, formed in London four years ago. About sunset the meeting broke up quietly & in high good humour. Several persons spoke of his views & plans as being highly satisfactory.—In the evening Mr. Owen shewed his plans to Mr. Pickering at Mr. Flower's.

On Monday morning Mr. Owen rode out to call upon some families in the neighbourhood [*] and I remained at home and wrote my journal. The weather was calm & temperate, but cloudy. Between 3 & 4 o'clock Mr. Fred. Rapp & his neice Gertrude Rapp arrived. About 5 o'clock the following party set down to dinner at Mr. George Flower's, Mr. & Mrs. Birkett, Mr. & Mrs. Carter, Mr. & Mrs. Cave, Mr. & Mrs. Lewis, Mrs. Jolly, Mr. & Mrs. Orange, Miss Rapp, Miss Ross, Miss Ronalds, Mr. Rapp, Dr. Spring Mr. Flower's Family & ourselves. After dinner an interesting discussion took place relative to Mr. Owen's doctrine of Man's non responsibility. Mr. Flower, Mr. Ronalds & Mr. Pickering, contended that Man was a subject for merit & demerit, of praise & blame, and of reward & punishment; and they supported their opinion by connecting it with religion, the Christian dispensation of a belief in a God in a resurrection, a heaven & hell, & future rewards & punishments, and by endeavouring to shew that Mr. Owen's statement of the

Formation of Human character and his Exposition of the influence of circumstances over human nature, were in contradiction to such creed. Mr. Owen replied that he was not aware how his statement that the child was created by a power over which he had no controul [*] could be considered as a denial of a Supreme Being; his endeavour to draw public attention to the consideration of the influence of circumstances over the child after birth, was no denial of a Resurrection; and his wish to do away with all human artificial rewards & punishments, was no interference with the future state of man after this life, or with those natural punishments which necessarily follow ignorance & bad habits, and those natural rewards which ensue from knowledge & good habits. The discussion was carried on till past 10 o'clock. Mr. & Mrs. Lewis, & Mr. & Mrs. Carter, sang some extremely pretty songs; after which the Party broke up.—Mr. Rapp remarked that he agreed with Mr. Flower in his arguments; Mr. Lewis & Mr. Carter were very favorable to Mr. Owen's views, and Mr. Birkett declared that he would not have missed being present at the discussion for 500 dollars. [In the afternoon the glass was 54°.]

Tuesday 28th
Dec^r.

This morning the glass was at 48° with foggy & rainy weather. Mr. Owen passed the greater part of the day in business with Mr. Rapp. I sat with Miss Ronalds, Miss Rapp, & Mr. Pickering & Mr. Ronalds. These gentlemen earnestly opposed the system of Mr. Owen with religious objections. Mr. John Wood came in to see Mr. Owen. He expressed how much he was in favour of his Plan, remarked that when in England, he had laboured hard but never acquired an independence and a place that he could call his own, and that now though he had property of [*] his own and little labour, he found himself more dependent than ever. The present system, he said, was man against man; if he gained today, it was his neighbour's loss, and if his neighbour gained tomorrow, it was at his expense. He would do anything, he added, as far as he was concerned to bring the plan of community into practice. Mr. Owen agreed to have some conversation tomorrow evening after dusk on the subject, with Mr. Wood & 6 or 8 of his

(Tuesday 28th.
Dec^r. contd)

friends, if they felt disposed to come & spend the evening at Mr. Flower's. Mrs. Pickering being very unwell, Mr. & Mrs. Flower went & passed the night at her house.—In the course of the evening Mr. Carter & Mr. Lewis came from Albion as deputies to request Mr. Owen to hold another meeting, as many persons both of Albion & Wanbro wished to discuss with him the merits of his plan. They shewed a paper containing a dozen & a half of signatures, offering to become members of a community. Among the number I observed the names of Mess^{rs}. Birbeck (son) Birket, Johnston, Lewis, Orange, Spring & Carter. Mr. Owen appointed one o'clock on Thursday at Albion, for the meeting. He shewed and explained the drawings of his plan to Mess^{rs}. Carter, Lewis & Ronalds. I had some conversation [*] with Miss Gertrude, who is pretty, mild, amiable, and extremely pleasing. She sang a few little german songs in an unaffected manner, & was a fine specimen in her own manners, how charming, simple, innocent & interesting a character a Harmonie life is capable of producing.

Fog & Rain. Ther. 50°. Mr. Rapp & his neice set off after breakfast for Harmonie, Mr. Owen having engaged either to go over there on Friday or Saturday, or meet him on Monday at Vincennes for the purpose of visiting the Shaker establishment at Bussora. Mr. Owen occupied himself looking over his papers. In the course of the day the post arrived at Albion from Vincennes, bringing a variety of newspapers for Mr. Flower. These engaged our attention during the evening. One of them contained the Presidents Message, in which he spoke of civilizing the Indians. It struck us that should Mr. Owen purchase Harmonie, he would be a good agent for that purpose between the U. States & the Tribes, and the establishment of Harmonie a place of interest & attraction to them. [A Farmer of the name of Michels called on Mr. Owen. He is a Methodist, but very desirous of becoming a member of a community. He is an industrious man.] Mr. Owen talked to W^m. and myself about our remaining at Harmonie to make ourselves acquainted with the several operations carried on in the village, while he proceeded to Washington.

Wednesday 29th.
Decr.

Thursday 30th.
Decr.

This day was calm & cloudy, without rain. Ther^r. ranged between 40° & 50°. About one o'clock [*] we went up to Albion. Before two o'clock about 70 persons had assembled in a room in the Brick Tavern. Among the number were several from Wanbro; half a dozen respectable looking females; about two dozen hard working looking farmers & mechanics; several young persons and 5 or 6 black men & women. They shewed by their appearance the irregular habits of life followed by them, but with the exception of a noisy drunken man who came in for a few minutes, they behaved with great attention and propriety. Mr. Owen shewed them his plans, and mentioned that his object in visiting Harmonie had been to see whether that place would serve as a temporary residence for an association of persons while they were acquiring the habits and information requisite for persons entering an establishment of the construction he had been shewing them. He continued, that he had found a great many advantages at Harmonie, and considered that any population removing to that situation would immediately find themselves in a superior situation. The report of the unhealthiness of Harmonie was incorrect. Before the land was cleared the inhabitants were sickly. The sickness diminished as they cleared the land; and out of 800 persons 5 died in 1822 & 2 only in 1823. He mentioned that from his experience, he found it better to [*] manage a population without praise or blame, reward or punishment. He said that he intended that the utmost toleration of opinion should prevail in associations formed upon his principles; for he could not conceive a more irrational proceeding or greater injustice, that [*sic*] to be angry with or censure any person for his opinions, or prevent him having the fullest & freest exercise of worship according to his Belief. He said that it had occurred to him that morning, that were he to purchase Harmonie, an association of persons might rent it of him, and he could make all the arrangements and direct their proceedings till every thing should be well understood & went on in its regular course. To questions as to the method to be adopted by persons having houses, lands & stock around Albion, who might be disposed to join him, he replied that he had been considering

the difficulty stated, and that he had been thinking that cotton might be grown on the dry lands, & that the wet ground might be turned into grass land. Mr. Owen concluded by saying that they might reflect upon all these matters; that he intended to return again to Harmonie, and further examine that concern; that if they thought they could form themselves into an association upon any other plan, he would be most happy to [*] give them every assistance in his power.—After the meeting broke up, several persons remained for some time conversing together on the subject. We dined at Mrs. Wattle's. Her husband Judge Wattle was absent on law duty. While Mr. Clinton was Governor of the State of New York & in high public estimation Judge Wattle was likewise in consideration in the east. Upon the change of Politics which put Mr. Clinton out of office, and some failures at the same time by which Judge Wattle lost considerable sums of money; the Judge determined to retire into the Western States, and ultimately fixed his residence at Albion, where he has built a small house. The dinner was cooked & served by Mrs. Wattle, Miss Ross, & Mrs. Lewis. We had most of the persons present who were at Mr. George Flower's. We returned home early in the evening, and found Mr. Warangton, the schoolmaster, waiting to converse with Mr. Owen as to the improved method of managing his school. Mr. Warangton allowed that he thought Man's character to be formed for him, & approved of a system of tuition without praise or blame, reward or punishment, but he involved the question in the discussion of whether blame must not necessarily be attached to the Deity for all the bad actions of men, if we relieved them of blame, and went on to contend that such a consequence proved that man must be a free agent, and that it [*] would be inconsistent not to praise & blame, reward & punish. The discussion was carried on for at least two hours.—

(Thursday 30th.
Decr. contd)

This day was calm but cloudy. We sent our portmanteaus by Mr. Benton's cart, which was going on business to Harmonie. We started on horseback about 10 o'clock. We travelled at an easy trot through the prairie & oak forest, called the barrens, came into the Shawnee town road 8 miles south of the village of Bon pas; soon left this road & crossed

Friday 31st.
Decr.

to the left over the Fox Creek, which was very low ; crossed Fox island which owing to the wet weather was very muddy ; and passing the Wabash ferry, reached Harmonie about 3 o'clock.—Mr. Fred. Rapp spent the evening with us. He brought a bottle of red wine for us to taste, made from the wild grapes. It had been 5 years in bottle, at first fermented & sickened very much, & was a long time before it cleared. It had a sweet, & sharp aromatic flavour, & reminded me of the common sort of vin de moulin, made in the South of France. He said that he had tried pruning the wild vines, but that they ceased to bear grapes when pruned.—In the course of our day's ride I saw 2 wild deer, and 3 turkey buzzards.

Saturday 1st.
January 1825.

This morning the wind which [*] had been southerly for the last week came round to the north of West. It threatened snow, but the glass standing about 33°. the cold kept it off.—The wind was sharp & the day cloudy & dry.—After breakfast Mr. Owen went out with Mr. Rapp & W^m. Owen & myself went with Mr. George Flower to see the Harmonite sheep. There are 3 flocks of merinoes, the whole number, including rams, wethers, ewes & lambs, amounting to between 800 & 900. Mr. Rapp proposed to leave 700. We found the flocks in three fold houses, which appeared to be well kept and of a convenient size.—Mr. Flower took samples of the wool of two of the rams, which proved to be very fine wool. In winter time the sheep always sleep in the houses, but in summer they lay out and shepherds sleep out with them to protect them from the wolves.—For this purpose they have covered carts.—When we returned to the inn, Mr. Ronalds arrived from Albion, having set out early in the morning in the expectation of meeting his sister on her way home. We dined at midday, and between one & two Mr. & Miss Ronalds & Mr. G. Flower left us for Albion. Mr. Owen again went out with Mr. Rapp & W^m. & myself walked upon the hills a mile from the village towards the mill. These [*] hills are at least 200 feet high, descending abruptly to the cut which runs to the mill. [From the highest point of these hills the prospect is extensive & beautiful. A few judicious openings would present many picturesque views of the winding river ; and a little taste

in leaving here & there small clumps of trees when the land is cleared, and planting a few artificial shrubs evergreens & bushy trees would much augment the richness of the scenery.] The small island on the other side of the cut is flat, & flooded in the rainy season, & covered with trees of large size, which retain the mark several feet up of the river water. Through the trees we could see some large stacks or barns in the middle of the island, belonging to the Harmonites. The banks of the river are very picturesque in this part, and with some management there might be made many extremely beautiful walks & rides. We returned at the back & west of the orchards which are large & shut in by good palings. The town & these orchards stand on a kind of second flat. Between them & the river is a lower one, which the river inundates in the flooding season. This lower flat is a rich soil and will, I have no doubt, ultimately be secured by embankments from the inundation. In the evening the wind went down & it began to freeze.—Mr. Owen spent some part of the evening with Mr. Rapp, occupied about the business of settling for the purchase of Harmonie. Our landlord Mr. Eckensberger shewed me a good toned german violoncello which he played [*] at the musical meetings of the Society. In the course of conversation he told me that he came from the mountains of Suabia. That he & several others of the surrounding country of Wurtemberg, were of a peculiar religious opinion, not merely forms & words; that Mr. Rapp was their preacher, & that they used to assemble together for the purpose of carrying on their peculiar mode of worship. The clergy at length got them fined every time they met together. In consequence of this they determined to emigrate to America. Their neighbours, considering them to be the most orderly, industrious, & honest people in the country, were much averse to this step; but they finally succeeding in carrying their project of removal into execution. When they purchased the Estate of Harmonie & removed from the neighbourhood of Pittsburg, they hoped to be joined by a great number of their countrymen, & therefore took a much greater extent of land than they immediately required. Two years back finding that few joined their association, they sent some

(Saturday 1st.
Jan^y. 25 cont^d)

to the old country to try & [*] obtain an accession to their members. Their missionaries however proved unsuccessful & returned about this time twelve months. Soon after they resolved to sell this property, & purchase a smaller one in Pennsylvania nearer to that part of the country which is peopled by germans.

Sunday 2nd
Jan^y 1825.

At 7 oclock this morning the glass was at 22°. The day was calm & beautifully clear. The sun shone brilliantly. At nine o'clock the Population went into church. As they passed our window they looked remarkably respectable & orderly; their dress very plain & old-fashioned, but clean & decently put on. W^m. went to church, while Mr. Owen & myself remained at home. Mr. Owen had in the morning received a letter from Mr. Rapp, relative to their discussions last night, and containing his terms.—After church Mr. Owen received another note from Mr. Rapp to inform him that he had received notice of the arrival of goods at Shawneetown, that in consequence he intended to send a keel boat down tomorrow, & that other business would prevent [*] him going to Vincennes. Mr. Owen therefore determined to go to Shawneetown, & a person was dispatched on horseback with a letter to Mr. George Flower, as that gentleman had arranged to meet Mr. Owen at Vincennes. After dinner we went to the nursery garden which was full of apple trees. There were also two small patches of apple trees in an orchard. These were neatly bound round with straw to preserve them from the rabbits. We afterwards walked along the bank of the cutoff, turned up the hills on our left, crossed along by the vineyards, and returned soon after four o'clock to the town. Mr. Schnee from Springfield came in and had a long conversation with Mr. Owen. He has been a woolen manufacturer, and seemed disposed to join an association & take part in the direction of that branch of business.

Monday 3rd.
Jan^y.

During breakfast a Mr. Clarke from the neighbourhood of the Illinois River arrived. He brought a letter of introduction to Mr. Owen from Mr. Birkbeck. He had formerly been a farmer near Rye in Kent, had been 12 years in America, traded with the Indians, been to the Rocky Mountains in pursue of furs, and wintered with his

companions under those mountains. We had [*] considerable conversation with him relative to the manners & customs of the Indians, the new system of society, and the rapid progress of the settling in the Western States. He spoke much of the superior fertility of the western country, and said that during the last fall 300 families had settled in his neighbourhood. After dinner he set out on his road east. Mr. George Flower arrived from Albion. Having made a final agreement with Mr. Fred. Rapp for the purchase of Harmonie, Mr. Owen sent his baggage down to the keelboat, and having taken leave of the Harmonites we embarked about 3 o'clock. The afternoon was calm & clear but cold. We had six rowers, a cook and a captain. Mr. Rapp had sent provisions, blankets & buffaloe skins on board for our use. The cargo was light, consisting only of a few barrels of flour. There was a stove and benches in the after part, and altogether we were tolerably well off. We occasionally rowed, and sometimes the Captain played on the key bugle or the crew sung glees. The river was low for the season of the year, & the current, which sometimes ran between 2 & 3 miles an hour & at other times not above one, [*] was rapidly falling. When rowing, the boat would often go from 3 to 4 miles an hour. In the most shallow parts of the channel, the water was from 3 to 5 feet deep; but we often had above two fathoms. The night was beautifully illuminated by a full moon. The sides of the river are flat, the soil rich & covered with large timber. The cotton wood is very abundant, in consequence of this ground being subject to be flooded in the Spring. The river winds very much, & has several islands in it. (Monday 3rd Jan^y cont^d)

This day was cloudless. Though the morning was frosty & cold, yet the rising sun gradually warmed the air and produced an agreeable temperature. Before we reached the mouth of the Wabash we passed the mouth of the little Wabash. We saw several Turkey buzzards and some smaller birds, flocks of wild geese & ducks, but we did not get near enough to shoot any. Some of the river bends are cut off by narrow channels forming islands. Some of these channels may be navigated during high water & in the day time. One [*] of them saves 18 miles of distance. We entered (Tuesday 4th Jan^y.)

the Ohio opposite an Island belonging to the State of Kentucky, called Wabash Island. The river Wabash may be about 400 yards wide at its mouth; below the Wabash island the Ohio may be from 600 to 800 yards broad. At low water their depth where they meet may be 3 fathoms; at the height of flood from 7 to 9 fathoms. We arrived at Shawneetown about half after 3 o'clock. From the mouth of the Wabash Harmonie may be 65 miles, & Shawneetown 10 miles distant. This place stands on the edge of the right bank of the Ohio. It consists of two straggling streets. The wood is cut down for about $1/4$ of a mile every way round the town which contains about 150 houses, including log, frame & brick buildings. The latter description of house is confined to a very small number. The foundations of the brick houses are built from 2 to 4 feet above the ground, & those of the wooden buildings are raised on logs, by way of protection from the spring inundation, which generally floods the whole town. We put up at the Columbian Inn, at the sign of Washington's Head, painted by Mr. Harding of Kentucky [*] who went to England last spring, and took a good likeness of Mr. Owen in London.—Mr. Rawlings, the proprietor was very attentive. This is the best house in the town. All the latest papers are to be seen here.—Mr. Rapp has a store here; his agent is Mr. Caldwell, a very respectable man. He is land agent for the United States.—Shawneetown was first settled as the nearest port on the Ohio, from the salt spring which are about 10 miles inland. There is a post weekly between this place & Harmonie. The distance is 12 miles to the ferry on the Wabash, and 24 miles from thence through Springfield. We supped at 6 o'clock and spent the evening reading the papers & in conversation with the people of the place. We slept in a room with two other persons.

Wednesday 5th.
Jan^y.

Early this morning the Indiana steamboat, arrived here from Louisville. It & the Congress had been engaged to take a cargo & some of the Harmonie people up to Economy. The captain, Mr. Clarke, put a person on shore at Mount Vernon, to cross over & give notice at Harmonie that he would be at the mouth of the Wabash in waiting for them, and called at Shawneetown to take on board several articles from the store. In the course of the forenoon Mr. Owen conversed

with some of the people, among the number Dr. Reid, & subscribed for the [*] Shawneetown Gazette, 3 dollars per annum, published every Saturday. About mid-day we embarked on board the steamboat, which took the keelboat alongside. As there was no pilot on board acquainted with the navigation of the Wabash, we only went 2 miles up the river & anchored on the river side. [The weather calm & clear.] In the evening the crew of the Harmonie boat sang to the company in the cabin, consisting of Captⁿ. & Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Fitch from New Albany, & ourselves. I wrote to my uncle.

We spent the whole of this day waiting for the Harmonites. During dinner Mr. Rawlings the master of the Shawneetown Inn. We amused ourselves part of the time making fires in the wood. About 4 o'clock 3 flat boats arrived with a cargo from Harmonie & the notice that Mr. Rapp & the party would meet the steamboat at Mount Vernon. In the evening I wrote to Skene, and gave my letters to Mr. Owen to forward from Washington. Between 10 & 11 o'clock at Night every thing being on board, we set off up the river Ohio leaving the Harmonie boats to return up the Wabash. On our way one of the fire men fell over board, his foot slipping on the icy deck as he stopped for wood. He slid so far out as to escape the wheel which only grazed the skin off one of his knees. The engine was immediately stopped & a row boat sent after him. As he swam in the water he kept halloeing out to give notice where he was. At this moment the Magnet steamboat overtook us [*] coming up the river, and it was with difficulty that he swam out of her way. At length he was safely got on board. One of the passengers mentioned that he was standing near the wheel of a steamboat when a man fell over the bows, and coming under the wheel between two of the flappers was safely picked up with the water & pitched upon the deck again without further injury than being almost drowned with water.

About 4 o'clock this morning we arrived at Mount Vernon. Mr. Rapp & his party who had been waiting at night in Mr. James's inn, immediately came on board. Mr. Schnee from Springfield had accompanied them. W^m. Owen &

Thursday 6th.
Jany

(Thursday 6th.
Jany contd)

Friday 7th.
Jany

myself took leave of Mr. Owen & landed.—We breakfasted at the inn with Mr. Rawlings, Mr. Schnee, two or three other persons, and the sheriff of this county and a young man taken up for murder, whom he was conveying prisoner to the state of Tennessee. After breakfast we rode to Harmonie on two of Mr. Rapp's horses, by the lower road which is a mile shorter, better for horses, but not so good for carriages as the Springfield road, on account of the hills & creeks.—As I did not find myself very well, I rested the rest of the day. The afternoon was cloudy but calm & not cold. [*]

Saturday 8th
Jan^y

This day was calm, cloudy & mild weather. After breakfast we called and saw Mrs. Rapp and her grand daughter Miss Gertrude, & then returned to the inn to write our Journals. We dined between 12 & one o'clock. After dinner Mr. Schnee & his wife came in. In the course of conversation I learnt that there are 52 counties in this state, and 5 Judges. The circuit in which this county (Posey) is, contains nine counties. The Judges have 700\$ a year, & are elected for 5 years.¹ The Judge of this circuit is Goodlet. A Gazette is published every week at Evansville. In the afternoon we took a long walk into the wood.

Sunday 9th.
Jan^y

This morning the glass was at 34°. & the weather calm and cloudy. As Mr. Rapp was from home, the Harmonians had no church. Wm. Owen & myself drew out an altered form of notice relative to the persons & the terms on which they would be admitted as members of the New Society. After dinner we walked into the woods. On our return we found a large party which had arrived from Princetown, consisting of General Evans & his lady, General Lely [Neely] Postmaster & his lady, Mr. Brown tavern keeper, Mr. Hall lawyer, Mr. Arbuthnot saddler, and another gentleman. The ladies, as is customary, occupied the private [*] sitting room and the gentlemen the public room. We spent the evening in conversation with them. They seemed much pleased with Mr. Owen's plans, and remarked that the country round were delighted at the change which was about to take place in this settlement. Mr. Hall made several enquires relative to the plan about to be adopted, which induced me to enter

¹The term of the judges was seven years.—ED.

fully upon the subject with them. They expressed their concurrence with me in the opinions I expressed relative to the nature of Man & the system of cooperation. Mr. Arbuthnot said that he had been much taken with the subject, and should not wonder if upon a satisfactory communication with Mr. Owen he should join the Society with his wife & family. General Evans expressed himself much to the same purpose. Mr. Brown wished us to write to Mr. Owen that he might use his influence with the postmaster General to have the mail carried between this place & Princetown in a stage instead of on horseback as at present. General Evans conversed with me a considerable time about the Indian Tribes. He said that he settled in this country about 9 years ago, when it was covered with Indians, that he had constant intercourse with them, learnt enough of their language to have a little conversation with them, and that he discovered much to admire in them. When he had [*] occasion to go away from home for a few days, he would go to some neighbouring camp where he had Indian acquaintance, tell them he wished them to protect his house & family while he was away; & two or three of the men & squaws would remove & build their hut close to his house, remaining there as a guard of safety till his return. He added that he never was so safe as when surrounded by Indians. Sometimes his horses would get loose & stray away into the woods. He would acquaint the Indians of it, & 2 or 3 young men would start off, & never return till they caught them. This service he repaid with corn or whisky. When a party of them began drinking, one would always take their arms & put them on one side and keep himself sober as a guard over the others. Afterwards if any quarrelled they would run for their arms, but finding them set apart & a sober companion in charge, they would cease their dispute, being above contention by blows or wrestling. Sometimes they would borrow from him, or trade with him for rifles or other articles which he had purchased for the purpose of bartering with them. If they could not pay at the time, [*] they would promise to return & pay him on a certain day. If they had procured their furs before the appointed time, & returned to their camps they would not come to him till the day they

(Sunday 9th.
Jan^y cont^d)

had named; but he never was once deceived by any of them. He then gave me some description & account of Tecumseh. This Indian chief was a fine figure of a man, and a wonderful clever & well informed person for a natural Indian. When he had his interview with General Harrison Governor of the state, the general first invited his own company & friends to be seated, after which he told the interpreter to say to Tecumseh that his Father wished to have a friendly meeting with him & invited him to be seated. He used the term father in imitation of the Indians who style the President of the U. States their great Father. Tecumseh who had been much huffed that he himself had not been looked upon as the greatest person in company and given a chair before the General's friends, replied indignantly "You, my Father! No. The Sun is my Father. "The Earth is my Mother, and I will repose myself upon "her lap," and seating himself upon the ground, was imitated by all his followers.

Monday 10th
Jan^y

This morning was beautifully [*] clear. The glass stood at 22°. When the sun rose the day became pleasantly warm in the sun. The Princetown party conversed much about Mr. Owen's new system. General Evans described to me the way the State of Indiana is divided into Districts & Ranges. A base line was fixed running East & west nearly through the middle of the State, and a meridian line on the eastern extremity. Another meridian line was marked off every 6 miles west, and other lines every 6 miles north & south of the base line, were marked off parallel to that line. Thus each District contains 36 square miles or sections as they are called, containing 640 acres, and is described as being the 1st 2nd or 3rd &c district, north or south of the base line, and in the 1st 2nd or 3rd &c West range. Engineers were appointed by government to survey these lines, as well as the lines dividing the sections, at the rate of \$3 a day. They measured straight through the woods, and at the angles marked 4 convenient trees, & specified upon them the distance & the direction by compass to the exact spot where they drove in a picket to mark the point where the lines crossed.—The unsold lands are called congress lands. There is a land office in every county for the sale

of lands.¹ [*] The government price is one and a quarter dollar an acre, and the smallest lot is 1/8th of a section or 80 acres, amounting to 100\$. The Eastern Mail leaves Princetown every Thursday morning. There are 2 senators and 3 representatives in congress for the State of Indiana. Mr. Jacob Call residing in Vincennes is one. They receive 3 dollars a day during the sitting of congress, and this is continued 20 days before & after. Their letters go free of any weight. The members of this State's Legislature receive 2\$ a day. Every proprietor is taxed for the repair of roads; but no one can be taxed more than 4 days labour, the tax upon a quarter section of land. General Evans wrote a letter to Mr. Call the member, introducing Mr. Owen to him; this letter we put under another cover together with letters to Mr. Owen & a copy of the notice. In the afternoon we visited some of the farmyards & stables, & cotton manufactory, & walked about three miles up the river bank. In the evening we went to the church, where about 10 of the band of the Harmonians played some marches & waltzes to us. W^m. Owen received a note from Mr. George Flower mentioning that Mr. McIntosh who lives at the falls of the Wabash below Vincennes was desirous of becoming [*] a member of the Society, and he added that a disagreement had lately taken place in Vincennes between several french families & their priest, & that as these families were going to remove, he thought about 30 of them would join the Society.—This information we gave in our letters to Mr. Owen.

This day was beautifully fine & clear. At 7 o'clock in the morning the ther^r. stood at 24° but the sun soon made the day agreeably warm. After breakfast I looked at two horses, one a large grey barb belonging to General Evans for 100\$, the other a Black well made little horse for 45\$. Mr. Baker at the Harmonite store looked at one for us, a young bay horse out of condition for 55\$. I understood that an excellent hack ought not to cost above 40\$, though the price had been higher 4 years ago.—The Princetown party left us with many invitations to visit them; and

Tuesday 11th.
Decr.

¹Macdonald was in error. Land offices were widely scattered over the state, at Vincennes, Jeffersonville, Brookville, Crawfordsville, and Fort Wayne.—Ed.

(Tuesday 11th
Jan^y cont^d)

Mr. Carter, & Mr & Mrs. Birkett arrived from Albion. We shewed our notice to them, and likewise to a blacksmith trader from Wheeling. They approved much of it.—After dinner we went to visit the wooden granary, and the mill, cotton & woolen Manufactours & dye house, all turned by a steam Engine [*] In the evening I gave Mr. Baker, the storekeeper, the notice to read. A Mr. Alexander Stuart from Perthshire called with a letter from Mr. George Flower. He is settled 15 miles west of Wanborough. He is a farrier & veterinary surgeon by trade, & wished to have a copy of Mr. Owen's proposals.

Wednesday 12th.
Jan^y.

A beautifully clear & calm morning. Ther^r. 24°. The sun rose brilliantly. I omitted to mention that in the course of conversation on Sunday evening General Evans described the state of French Society at Vincennes when he first arrived there 9 years ago. There were there then many very respectable, intelligent french families in good circumstances. They carried on business enough to make them comfortable and keep up an active intercourse with the inhabitants of St. Louis & the other french settlements.^o [°they kept the settlement in a pretty & flourishing state. Their houses were neat, and the grounds around them well cultivated & dressed up with flower gardens.] On Sundays he would see them coming in crowds from mass and hastening to the race course where they would amuse themselves all day, & in the evening have dances & balls. The first ball he was at he was made acquainted with one of their customs by having the trick played upon himself. While standing in conversation with a gentleman [*] at one end of the ball-room, a lady came up entered into conversation with him & before he was aware of it sewed a ticket on the lappet of his coat. This was a signal that he was engaged to give the next ball & be the king of it. His friend then informed him that he must choose his queen from among the ladies in the room,^x [°in the same manner, by fastening the ticket, when unobserved, on the sleeve of one of them, then] presenting his hand to her, kissing her cheek (not her mouth which would be an offence) and dancing with her. This he performed, gave his ball which cost him above 60\$ (as it was customary to pay for a new ball-dress for his queen)

and afterwards was considered a member of their society and admitted to all their amusements. Latterly however he observed that many of the principal families had gone away and the majority of the remaining settlers were poor & less industrious. Princetown is 26 or 28 miles from this, and Vincennes 22 or 24 from thence. After dinner we rode two of Mr. Rapp's horses 8 miles into the woods to see an oil mill and a saw mill separated from one another about a quarter of a mile, & built on a small creek which was dammed up to give sufficient falls of water. They were not at work. Thence we rode a couple [*] of miles through the wood on the Princetown side to a small prairie about 100 yards long & a field & cowherd's shed by the river side. Here they send their cattle & young horses in the spring to get young grass. No one was at either of the mills, & the hostler who rode with us told us that it was very seldom that any thing was touched or taken away. On our return we found two Shakers from Bussora at the Tavern, and had some conversation with them. They were dressed in grey frock coats & chocolate coloured trowsers. Their manners were plain and their behaviour quiet & unassuming. One of them had lived at Waterfliet, and appeared well pleased at learning that we had been there. Their number at Bussora is between 40 & 50. There are altogether in the states 13 societies consisting of about 4000 persons. They only trade with the public enough to supply themselves with the articles of consumption which they cannot produce at home. They feed silkworms from the leaves of the wild mulberry, and make silks. One of them shewed me a black silk handkerchief of their own making, which he was wearing round his neck. It was strong and well made. Some of [*] the longer established societies, he said, made silks of a very superior description. They use coffee made from rye, which they are very fond of. They are going to try to grow the tea plant which they have been assured is likely to thrive in this country. Bussora is 18 miles by the road but only 12 miles directly north up the Wabash from Vincennes. They think the vine will thrive particularly well, as it is the natural & abundant production in every part of the woods around them. The warm

sun & the cold nights & sharp frosts sometimes injure & kill the S. West sides of the apple & peach trees. They make a great deal of cider, which they consider the best beverage. When going to travel on horseback in cold weather they take a draught of cider with ginger in it, which warms the whole body. The names of the Shakers were Meecham & McLeland.

Thursday 13th.
Jany.

[Weather cloudy & damp.] After breakfast we rode over to Albion to see the Flowers. We were accompanied the greater part of the way by Mr. Steele who lives in Albion. Mr. Flower [*] was confined with the gout; Mrs. Pickering still seriously ill in bed; & Mrs. Ronalds just brought to bed of a girl.

(Thursday 13th
Jany cont^d)

Friday 14th.
Jany.

The early part of the morning was rainy, & the whole of the day cloudy, but not cold.—Judge Wattles called in the afternoon, and had some conversation about Mr. Owen's plan. He expressed himself very favorable to it, and said that he thought if Mr. Owen made it well understood in the Eastern States, that a great many of the best Mechanics would join him at once. Mr. Brissenden a farmer & friend of Mr. John Wood called; he seemed very desirous of joining the Society, but spoke of some small cash debts which he & his friend had, which they must settle before they could leave their property and bring their stock into the Society. In the evening we received a joint letter from the two, asking several questions relative to the arrangements of the association, which we answered by telling them that Mr. Owen would answer them on his return. [Mr. George Flower told us that Mr. McIntosh seemed disposed to join the Society, that his property on the falls of the Wabash would hereafter be very valuable; and that the french families who were thinking of removing from Vincennes, were talking of settling on the land between the Ohio & Wabash rivers, & near the mouth of the latter.]

Saturday 15th
Jany

The morning was fine, & though there was a little breeze & flying clouds from the south, the day was mild, & like spring weather. After breakfast we called at Mr. Ronalds, Judge Wattles & Mrs. Carters & returned to Harmony.—On our way we [*] met Mr. & Mrs. Birket & Mr. Carter, returning to Albion. As we came out of Judge Wattles' house we met Dr. Pugsley who introduced

himself & said he intended riding over to Harmonie tomorrow. We found the two Shakers still at Harmonie.

In the night it froze, but at seven o'clock the morning was beautiful, without a cloud & the ther^r. at 34°. & rising fast. The wind was blowing a pleasant breeze from the west by south. The Shakers left very early. After dinner we walked to the bank of the Wabash below the cut off. From these ridges we had a fine view of the river. On our return we found Dr. Pugsley, & Mr. Hall & Mr. Clarke from Albion. We sat in conversation with them all the evening.

Sunday 16th.
Jany

After breakfast we walked south through the woods to the banks of the Wabash below the cut off. The three English visitors were very much pleased with the scenery. We returned by the cut off mill. We spent the evening in discussion.

Monday 17th.

After Breakfast we [*] went with the English visitors to see the oilmill & saw mill. There were two men at work at each. After dinner we went to see the Distillery, the Steam Engine, the Thrashing machine and Piggery.

Tuesday 18th.

This day the 3 English returned to Albion. After dinner we went through the Turner's shop, Tanyard, soap boiler's, Washhouse & hat manufactory. [This evening a letter came from Rich^d. Brenchley tailor in Albion offering to join.]

Wednesday 19th.

We rode to Springfield & thence went to Mr. Phillips schoolmaster & land surveyor. The school is a poor one. The children looked rather pale & not healthy. He himself was sickly. We dined at Springfield with Mr. Schnee & Mr. Stewart. After dinner we saw a Hatter who resides there & is disposed to join the Society at Harmonie. He is not in good health. On our return in the evening we found two English settlers arrived from the Hornbrook settlement 10 miles from Evansville & 28 miles from hence. Their names Mr. Saunders Hornbrook who had a Woolen Manufactory near Plymouth & emigrated to this country about 6 years ago; & Mr. Medloe who had a farm in Hampshire & came over at the same time. They conversed [*] in a way to shew that they would be willing to join the Society here, if Mr. Owen's terms should suit their views.—[This evening two letters arrived for & one from Mr. Owen. The latter dated Louisville the 9th inst.] The weather has been fine & dry all this week, & the nights frosty.

Thursday 20th.

Friday 21st.

A beautiful morning. ther^r. 23° at 7 o'clock.

On Saturday we sent off a letter to Hunter by a Traveller going to New Orleans. On Monday we took some measurements of the Town. On Tuesday we rode through the Cut Off Island with Mr. Richard one of the store keepers. Various parts are above the flood mark. Some of them are cleared & log houses built for cattle. We saw a good many feeding, & some colts. There is a small prairie on which there is good grass. Mr. Richard believes that there is something in the nature of the ground which prevents the growth of wood. The island is about 6 miles long & from two to three wide. We met one of the farmers; he said that there were 100 deer in the island. We saw a few at a great distance. The wild turkies are abundant. People from the boats going up & down, are in the habit of landing [*] and shooting a great many. They take dogs with them, who stand at the foot of the trees barking while the shooter takes a deliberate aim from behind a neighbouring trees. The turkies are too intent looking down at the dogs to observe him. The island is a rich soil and the timber upon it large & thick. We saw a great number of very large buckhorn trees.—

(Tuesday 25th.
Jany contd)

On Wednesday we wrote letters. I wrote Mrs. Kemmis & Mr. Hamilton. In the afternoon some American gentlemen called to inquire about Mr. Owen's plan; from Evansville a Mr. Crockwell, baker & grocer; from Cynthiana a farmer, & another person; & a Mr. Morris Tavern keeper from Carmi Illinois, wishing to rent the Harmonie tavern.

On Thursday Mr. Jaques & his son in law Mr. Rankins, [Likewise a Mr. Mathew from beyond Bon pas.] conversed with us, & invited us to visit them 9 miles on the Prince town road. In the afternoon we rode 3 miles south to a sawmill, on a creek which runs down to the river opposite to Denis' ferry. The creek has enough water, but the dam was broken down last flood. The situation is pleasant & the buildings new. It would not [*] be much trouble to repair the dam, & set the mill again at work. It is a mile from the Wabash. We thence rode down to the river. The Ferryman lives on the other side, on a tract of rich land belonging to this property. On this side there is a small

farm. In the course of our ride we passed 2 old farms, out of which the people had been bought.—A great part of our time we passed in visiting the town, measuring many places, looking at the manufactories, workshops & empty houses, and making a rough plan as a memorandum, till the complete one made by Mr. Pickering last fall shall arrive. In the evenings we observed the stars and had astronomical conversations with Miss Gertrude & Dr. Millar. The weather continued remarkably clear & fine. A little frost at night & a warm sun in the day. No wind, & only now & then a small thin cloud.—The ther^m. in the morning ranged from 16°, 18°, 22° & 24° to 29°, 30°, 37° & 41° for the last week.—[*]

Friday 28th.
Jan^y

Mr. Lewis from Albion arrived. We visited some of the workshops, & continued taking notes for our rough sketch. On Sunday Mr. Clarke's two sons arrived. We saw in the Shawnee town Paper a letter stating that Mr. Owen's 'New View of Society' was in the New York Press. We therefore sat down to write a statement of the Principles & Practice for insertion in that Paper, thinking that the subject was misunderstood & that a letter relative to it would be well received. This day our letters went off.—The Post arrives here from Princetown every thursday forenoon & goes on to Shawneetown, which it again leaves on Saturday & passes through this place early on Sunday morning, the distance from Shawneetown being from 35 to 40 miles. There are two or three roads; one by Rood's ferry & across Fox Island into the Vincennes road; another to Denis' Ferry 3 miles down the Wabash; and a third by Springfield & across the Wabash 5 miles above its mouth. The latter is the post road. The first has 6 miles of bad road through a part of Fox Island & a creek to cross; and the second has a marsh to cross.—We got Dr. Miller to print a hundred copies of the Notice which we had drawn out, and we [*] gave some to the neighbours who called to enquire about Mr. Owen.—A Mr. Owens from Bloomington, Monroe County in this State, about 50 miles south of Indianapolis & 130 north of this, arrived; he came for the purpose of making enquiries concerning the Harmonie flocks & the management of sheep, & likewise to hear something of Mr. Owen's

Saturday 29th.
Jan^y.

Sunday 30th.

1st. Feby.
Tuesday

Plan.—Mr. Lewis went back to Albion & returned on Tuesday 1st. Feby. for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the process of making candles & boiling soap, which business he proposed to follow in Mr. Owen's Establishment.—We had long conversations with Mr. Owens & excited so much interest in his mind relative to the New System that he requested to copy the Letter to the Editor of the Shawneetown Paper, promising to have it printed in the Paper published in his town.—The two Young Clarke's after visiting the different manufactories &c in the Town returned; and likewise Mr. Lewis. We sent by Mr. Lewis copies of the Notice to Mr. Flower & to Mr. Birbeck. A Mr. Maguire, settled on the Princeton road, called. He wished to join Mr. Owen. In the afternoon we saw [*] him drunk. We read in the Baltimore American Farmer a notice relative to an Italian gentleman wishing to be engaged to manage vineyards. We therefore wrote to the Editor to beg he would direct him to apply to Mr. Owen. I had a long discussion with Dr Smith about Mr. Owen's Plan. [The weather for some days had been clear & frosty.]

Wednesday 2nd
Feby

Friday 4th.
Feby

[About 5 o'clock this morning, the thermometer being down at 6°, about 80 of the men turned out with clubs & hoes, and knocked off all the corn stalks standing on from 60 to 80 acres of land, before breakfast. They chose this hour as the stalks are very brittle during a hard frost & before sunrise; & shewed by this method the power of Union. After the above process the stalks are left to rot on the ground if any crop be in it already; otherwise they are sometimes cut in two or three pieces & plowed in, or they are harrowed together & burnt. We went out and for some time joined in the work.] We set out after breakfast for Princeton on two of Mr. Rapp's horses with a pair of saddle bags & with Kentucky leggins, which consist of pieces of cloth passed twice round the leg from the heel to a few inches above the knee & tied with garters. They are very convenient. We had Mr. Owens as a travelling companion.—The weather was dry but cold & cloudy. The road was through well timbered lands for above 10 miles, & several small settlements. It was rough & ran over the ends of small ridges which lose themselves on the flats near the

course of the Wabash. The road afterwards went for some miles over the sandy barrens where the timber was extremely stunted, & consisted of a dwarf black oak.—The last 8 or ten miles of the road [*] to Princeton passed through a rolling country of rich land thickly timbered. [We overtook a brother of Gen^l. Evans on the road, who accompanied us into the Town.] We reached Princeton distant 28 miles, between 4 & 5 o'clock, and put up at Mr. Brown's Tavern, which is at present kept by Mr. Daniels. Here we again met Gen^{ls}. Evans & Neily, Mr. Arbuthnot, & Mr. Hall.—We were attended to as well as the house could afford, but had to sleep in the same bed, while Mr. Owens occupied another in the same room.

Princeton stands on an open level place. The land around is rich & well wooded. The town is scattered; it has a sort of a square in the middle with a courthouse & small jail; the former built of brick. Many of the houses are frame built, & some of them painted. There may be from 150 to 200 families in this settlement.—[Mr. Owens left us this morning for Vincennes.] After breakfast we walked with Mr. Brown & Gen^l. Evans & called on Mr. Phillips an Englishman who has been settled on some lands adjoining to the town for 6 years. His farm house is built upon a hill overlooking the town. He has cleared a large quantity of ground & brought it into a good state of cultivation. In Great Britain he was a considerable Mail coach proprietor & well known. He left off business on account of the bad state of his health, travelled through the United States, and [*] at length taking a fancy to this spot fixed himself here. He says that he was very much imposed upon & had many difficulties to contend against. We called on Mr. Hall who was in his law office, & on Mr. Arbuthnot who was in his saddler's shop. We conversed with several of the inhabitants relative to Mr. Owen's Plans, & drank tea at Gen^l Evans where we were introduced to Mrs. Evans & three of his sisters.—It was in Princeton that Mr. Birbeck remained with his family for several months after he first came to this country, and here he wrote his pamphlet on Emigration. He spent a good deal of ready money & lost a season by his unwillingness to adopt the American system

Saturday 5th.
Feby.

of farming in those respects which were best fitted for this soil & climate, and in the postage money which he was continually paying. His two daughters made themselves disliked by the females here.—

Sunday 6th.
Feby

After breakfast we set out for Vincennes, Mr. Phillips accompanying us. We were overtaken by Gen^l. Evans who accompanied us through a thick wood & rich land to the other side of the Patoka river to a settlement called Columbia which was first established with the idea that it would be made a county town; but that not [*] being the case it had declined. It has now only two or three families in it. [In the course of the ride Gen^l. Evans expressed to me his good opinion of Mr. Owen's plan, & said that he should make haste to return from Virginia whither he was about to go on business, in order to see Mr. Owen. Should he be able to make an agreement with him, he would be happy to join the Society.] The Patoka is a small stream not above 40 feet wide; it has however a long winding course, swells in rainy weather, and enters the Wabash river a short distance below the mouth of the White river, & a little lower down than Mount Carmel on the right bank of the Wabash.—We crossed a bridge & proceeded by Major Rob's farm to the White river which is nearly as broad as the Wabash, & is navigable for boats a great distance inland. There are two ferries; we took the upper one, which is 12 miles from Princeton. The river was very low, caused by the long dry weather. The banks are sandy.—The river makes a bend between the two ferries, so that on the north side the distance from one to the other is not above a mile; so we were told.—Mr. Dick a Scotch farmer, has a property here, his house is near the lower ferry.—Both sides of this river are flooded on the rising of the waters. We travelled the rest of the way to Vincennes through small black oak & a sandy soil. The Evansville coach which arrived last evening at Princeton, [*] overtook us at a settlement where we stopt for a few minutes. It is a covered two horse spring waggon. It runs once a week between Vincennes & Evansville. It takes two days to go the distance which is 23 & 27 = 50 miles;—fare 3 1/2 dollars. We reached Vincennes between 3 & 4 o'clock, & put up at Mr^s. Jones, a tolerable tavern for

(Sunday 6th.
Feby contd)

this country. The town is a scattered place standing on the left bank of the Wabash, and surrounded on the other sides by a prairie of small extent, which resembles in some manner an English race course. The houses are for the most part small frame buildings; but there are a few brick houses. The gardens are inclosed by palings, but they do not appear neat. [The population we understood to be from 300 to 400 families. The opposite side of the river is woody & low for some distance back. The prairie behind the town is subject in part to inundation during the high stages of the river floods.] This town was settled more than a century ago by a colony of Canadian French of a poor and illiterate description. They used to carry on an active trade with the native Indians, who inhabited in great numbers all the surrounding country. By their conciliatory manners they contrived always to live on good terms with them, and latterly when the Americans were at war with the Indians & wished to buy their lands or drive them west, their friendly behaviour to the Indians [*] served to produce a coldness on the part of the Americans, which has prevented them mixing together. Within the last few years several french families have moved away; some into the woods & others to St. Louis, Kascaskia & other French settlements on the Mississippi & Missouri & in the western territories. We remarked a number of houses out of repair, or shut up.—Before supper we called on Mr. Hay, the agent for Mr. Rapp. He was not at home, but we found Mrs. Hay & Mrs. Elston, wife of an Englishman, who has a situation in the land office here. We then walked to the end of the town, where we saw some flat & keel boats building. They are intended to carry down produce to the Orleans market as soon as the waters rise. A Mr. Massey a gentleman from the north of England settled here joined us. Two of the boats belonged to him. One he was building on a new construction, to carry cattle below & grain above. He intended to go down himself. Mr. Phillips said that he went down in company with Genl. Neily one season, but that the fatigue of it was so great & the chance of selling produce to such advantage as to defray all expences so uncertain [*] that he would never embark again on another

similar expedition. The boats sometimes cost 100\$ building, & when sold after discharging the cargo frequently fetch no more than 5\$. There is no water power at Vincennes. This want has in some degree been supplied by a steam & an ox mill. Some years back a bank was set up here. While it was in credit, business was alive in the place & the town began to improve; but it failed & since that period things have been on the decline. Mr. Hay called just before supper & asked us to his house in the evening. There we met Judge Blackford who is Judge of this district including Posey County. He is an agreeable & well-informed man. He boards at Mrs. Jones'. We also met Mr. Elston. They were all desirous of hearing about Mr. Owen.—This day was very fine & mild. In the evening however it became cloudy, and at night a warm S. W. wind brought rain.

Monday 7th.
Feby.

After breakfast we called on Mr. Hay and saw the Harmony store which is in a large room of his house which is one of the best in the town & stands at the corner of the two principal streets, and close to the Illinois Ferry. The room opens into the street & seems to be much resorted to. Mr. Hay walked through part of the [*] town with, and called on Dr. MacName who has a good brick house, one of the best, if not the best in the place.—Mr. Phillips took his leave of us, & set off in the rain for Princetown. We walked with Mr. Massey to the Receiver's office in a large brick building. The principal room is made a Public Library. As it was a day of meeting for the Shareholders, we met & were introduced to several persons. Among the number were Mr. Baddolet Head of the Land office, a frenchman, & father in law to Mr. Caldwell at Shawneetown;—Mr. Harrison, son of General Harrison & receiver, & librarian; Judge Blackford, President of the Library Directors; Dr. Kuykendall; Mr. Scott Presbyterian minister; & some others whose names we did not hear distinctly. Several resolutions were passed relative to buying new books, exchanging others & selling old ones, and relative to subscribers in debt & reducing the annual subscription from 2\$ down to one. This last proposal was rejected.—This business occupied two or three hours, & proved the poverty of the inhabitants.—In the [*] course of the afternoon we wrote a letter to Mr. Owen & inclosed

(Monday 7th.
Feby contd.)

one of the Notices. The Post from Louisville arrives Tuesday morning about 10 o'clock, & sets out again about mid-day. The calculation is that letters reach Washington City in 14 or 15 days, & thence to Vincennes in 17 or 18 days.—We drank tea at Mr. Hay's where we met a widow lady of the name of Smith, and the Misses MacName & Kuykendall two fine girls.—A great want in the free States is attendance for all domestic purposes; and persons in good circumstances have either to do the duties of the house entirely themselves, or procure the uncertain help of free blacks. This must be the case in a state of society, where families live separately and uphold the practice of equality.—Surely if Equality be a good principle of society, the proper practice to be followed in a country where it prevails is to unite in associations, in each of which all the children should be educated together in the best manner, & taught in early life to wait upon the old, with the prospect of being waited [*] upon in their turn when they were advanced in years.—Without such a regular proceeding the many disadvantages of rudeness, folly, & discomfort, will be sure to follow from uncultivated minds, irregular habits & want of system in performing the various duties of social life. [Wind S. West.]

[The day was mild & cloudy when we set out. After midday it began to rain & continued the rest of the day & all night. Wind N. E.] After taking leave of our friends we set out for Mr. W^m. McIntosh's. We were accompanied for a few miles by Mr. Hay & Mr. Elston. We rode down the left bank of the Wabash through a prairie & passed a small settlement of French families, situated on the more elevated part, as a great portion of the prairie is subject to inundation. We then entered the forest & passed over a rich bottom. We had intended to keep the Shawneetown road & cross the river at Vallées ferry, but missed the road to the right & continued down the low ground passing over a creek & between some ponds till we reached a small rapid in the river and a small settlement on both sides of the river. On the right bank stood a mill belonging to a Mr. Beedel. Thinking this to be the ferry we ought to cross at, we hailed the boat, which in a few minutes passed us over to the other side. Had [*] we continued three miles

Tuesday 8th.
Feby.

further we should have reached the Grand rapids where we could have got across & soon reached our destination. We asked the ferryman the way to Mr. McIntosh's. He directed up the hill about two miles along the road to Vincennes which we should have taken had we crossed where we intended. The ground over which we travelled is covered by water in the flood season to the depth of several feet.—At length we reached a small squared loghouse at which an little elderly man was standing. We asked him if he were Mr. McIntosh; he said he was, invited us to dismount & hoped we would stop the night with him. As soon as we were in his house, we discovered that we were with a Mr. John McIntosh, & not the gentleman we intended to visit. We mentioned our error but expressed our thanks for his hospitable reception. His wife gave us a good dinner of eggs, ham & cornbread & tea, and we passed the evening talking with him & his son, relative to Mr. Owen's plan & concerning Scotland and the American revolution in which the old man was concerned. About 9 o'clock he gave us prayers & read a chapter from the Bible recommending a community of goods. [*] We sung a psalm in favor of Union, and in his prayer he remembered it likewise, praying that communities might be established.—He told us that he was a Baptist, but wished to live on a liberal footing with all men. He also observed that [he] was a turner, & could make as good spinning wheels as any man, and while his 'Woman' spun & worked in the house, they could easily earn a comfortable support for themselves. The son was married & lived in an adjoining house. The old man & his wife slept in a bed in one corner of the room, & W^m. Owen & myself in another. The rain fell heavily during the night.

Wednesday 9th
Feby

After breakfast we set out for Mr. W^m. McIntosh's. The old man rode part of the way to shew us the road & then took his leave after giving us very pointed directions. [We passed a farm belonging to Mr. Kean, & stopped to wish him good day.] Our road lay along the ends of the ridges, just above the flat ground on the right bank of the Wabash. After riding four or five miles we came to Palmyra, a settlement on a bank by the river side. It was a county seat, but as this was removed the place declined, and

at length only one family remained in it. Mr. Wm. McIntosh afterwards alluded to this, & remarked that changes of this sort were sometimes made through the influence of interested persons, and [*] thus much capital was wasted in roads & other public works.—From Palmyra we crossed two creeks, one by a bridge & the other by a ford. In consequence of the heavy rain these creeks were full of water; & we were much wet crossing the ford. We were much puzzled to find the footpath which turned off to the left after crossing the ford. The road which we had come thus far, led across a prairie to Bon Pas.—At length we found a track which led us up to Mr. Simon's farm, where we received directions & thence crossed down to the river side and found Mr. McIntosh's house on a little rising bank close to a small descent in the channel of the river, which is called the Grand Rapids. The rising of a few feet of water renders this place navigable for flat & keel boats, and the house during the height of the flood becomes isolated. Mr. McIntosh received us kindly, and as the following day proved very rainy detained us at his house. He has a black housekeeper by whom he has several children. His partiality for the Blacks procures the assistance of one who comes from Mount Carmel distant two miles. His house is a frame building containing two rooms. There are some small out buildings. He has very little land [*] cleared or cultivated around his house which is shut in on all sides by the forest except next the river the opposite bank of which, however is thickly covered with wood and a very low bottom.—In consequence of Mr. McIntosh's connection with this black female, his character is lost among the Americans, and he lives quite retired from all society. Our time was passed in conversation. He spoke of the fall of the value of land & his embarrassments therefrom; of the advantageous situation he resided upon for the site of a mill, & his want of capital; of his life while he resided at Vincennes. He was a Major & public treasurer under General Harrison, and had much intercourse with the French & Indians. He came from Inverness, held a British commission in Canada, resigned it as he could not live on his pay. He gave us an account of the proceedings of the Americans in purchasing & getting possession of the lands

(Wednesday 9th.
Feby cont'd.)

Thursday 10th.
Feby.

of the Indians, and the wars which had taken place. On this subject he had a misunderstanding with General Harrison & resigned his public office. He intended, he said, if his mind should ever be in a state for it, to [*] write some account of these matters & place them in a more correct point of view than as they appeared in General Harrison's life. He seemed very fond of his children. His little son had been subject to ague fits for two years. Mr. McIntosh frequently spoke of his intention of sending his children to Mr. Owen's Society; but we said nothing on the subject as we did not know how far it would be wise, in the first instance so decidedly to oppose the feelings of the American People. We slept together in one bed, in a room in which Mr. McIntosh slept with one or two of his children. In the evenings the Black man & his housekeeper sat in the same room with & occasionally joined in the conversation. We observed that a bed & bedclothes were brought into the sitting room. I suppose that in consequence of our occupying one of their beds, they were obliged to make up beds in the sitting room.

Friday 11th.
Feby.

This morning the wind was to the west of South, and the weather appeared to be clearing up. After breakfast we set out to return to Harmony. Mr. McIntosh accompanied us as far as Mount Carmel, two miles from his house. This settlement contains between 20 & 30 families. It was settled about 6 years ago. It stands on a high ridge of rich soil on the right bank of the Wabash, opposite to [*] the mouths of the White river and Patoka creek which run very near to each other before they fall into the Wabash. We called on Mr. Stewart who keeps a small store. He rode down to the river side with us and his son-in-law ferried us across to the left bank & landed us just below the Patoka. They were preparing boats to set out for the Orleans market. With the late rain the river had risen already between two & three feet, and it was expected to continue rising as all the creeks & tributary streams were full of Water. Mount Carmel is considered a healthy place. It has one doctor, Dr. Smith, resident in it. When the place is more settled, cleared out & arranged, it will be a pleasant situation. It is 18 miles from Albion. Our ferryman went a few hundred yards through the Cane Brake to put us into a foot path

which he directed us to follow south for some miles. The land was flat, rich & thickly wooded. The little foot path wound along the side of a bayou for four or five miles, when we came to a small settlement on a rising bank. Here we received further directions for crossing some creeks & a long slash & following a cow-path to the left hand. The road was extremely bad & difficult to find. The slash, as it is called in the language of the country, is a swamp made by [*] a creek running into a flat bottom, quitting its banks, spreading right and left & losing itself on the low ground. At length, after travelling 7 or 8 miles, we got out of this low ground and reached Judge Montgomery's where we got further directions, & proceeded by cross roads over a rolling country till we came upon the sandy barrens which we crossed on our way to Princeton. We made several enquiries at the settlements by which we passed, to keep us on the right road, and always met with great civility from the inhabitants. All these settlements are of one description; small frame or log houses with small out buildings of the same sort, irregularly built; a few acres of the forest cleared around them; irregular fences inclosing the fields, and a general appearance of careless habits, discomfort & poverty. Most of the people appear thin & pale, and were settled on the flat grounds, subject to cold fever & ague.—Ten or twelve miles further on we came into the Princeton road north of the Bridge over Black Creek. We found the road very muddy & bad. It is ten miles from this creek to Harmony where we arrived a little after 7 o'clock in the evening. The delay in getting across the river, the badness of the roads, and our having to turn off frequently to different settlements to enquire our way, made this day's ride long & fatiguing—Our horses were very tired. It is necessary [*] when one stops to ask the way, to remain a few minutes after receiving directions, to converse with the people & in return for their information give them some of the news of the day and say where you are from, & where going. The curiosity of the people seems very natural, & it is very proper to do one's best to gratify it, when it is considered that they live scattered over an extensive country, having but little society & rarely meeting strangers. On our

(Friday 11th.
Febr. contd.)

arrival we found that Mr. F. Rapp had returned home the day after our departure. He had been in Pittsburg with Mr. Owen who had a public meeting there on the 22nd. It was very fully attended, but he did not hear the result of it, as he was obliged to leave the place soon after it opened.—We had taken about 20 of the Notices, all which we gave away to different persons in the course of our Journey.

From Friday 11th
to Friday 18th.
Feby.

This week we spent in looking about us, talking with the people of the country who came in, and associating a little with the Harmonites. Among the enquirers were, Mr. Server a farmer from Springfield, Mr. Rankin a farmer on the Evansville road, Mr. Gamble, Mr. W^m. Downey joiner by trade, 12 miles on the Cynthiana road, & Mr. Tho^s. Anderson, tailor, 6 miles on the same road.—We bought a horse for 60 dollars of a Mr. Stallion. Mr. Fred. Rapp was commissioned [*] by Mr. Owen to rent out the outlying fields for the present year as probably he would not have people to attend to the whole of the farm this season. Thursday 17th was kept by the Harmonites in commemoration of their Union on the 15th of Feby 1805, 20 years, & nearly 11 years here. At daybreak the band played on the square; at 9 o'clock they went to church; at a little after 12 they dined together in a large room over the church; at 3 o'clock they had Divine service again; at 6 o'clock they supped together, after which they had service till past 9 o'clock. [A Mr. Marshall & his daughter called on their way from Shawneetown to Vincennes] No strangers were admitted. [While they were engaged in their festival I kept the Tavern.] When they came from the afternoon service they proceeded in two bodies, men & women, headed by their band of music having their psalm books in their hands, playing & singing to the front of Mr. Rapp's house where they remained a few minutes & then dispersed to their several homes till supper time.—

Mr. Rapp gave us a ground plan of Harmony copied from Mr. Pickering's by the young man who assisted him. Mr. John Ayres a miller called with a recommendation from Mr. Hall as a miller. We engaged to write to him on the subject.—Mr. W^m. Orange came over from Albion.—Mr. Rapp spoke to us about recommending a Post Master in place of Dr. Smith. We were of opinion that Mr. Schnee

should be recommended in the mean time. The security is two persons, each in 1000\$; the benefit is 50 p. c on Papers, [*] 30 p. c on letters, & letters not weighing above 1/2 an ounce free.—The weather was very clear & temperate all this week. Wednesday evening there was some heavy rain.—The glass in the mornings ranged from 30° to above 40° & in the day it was generally a very agreeable temperature. Everybody was saying that the weather was too warm for this season, and that no one remembered so fine a winter as the present one.—Our time was passed from Feby till April, getting information at Harmonie, conversing with the neighbours, and sometimes pruning trees. Dr. Miller was printing a small pamphlet for Mr. Rapp relative to the Harmonite system. As it was a translation from the German, we assisted him in correcting both the language & the press.—The Harmonie Steamboat called the W^m. Penn, came up the Wabash, & the Ploughboy, and took several of the Harmonians away, & much of their baggage & stores. It was an interesting sight to see them taking leave of one another. Miss Wright & her sister came here for a day on their way down the river to join La Fayette who is coming up the river in a steam boat in a few weeks. They have lived 5 years with him. They visited the English settlement, & Miss Ronalds went down the river with them [*] to see New Orleans.—George Flower came here and staid two or three days, to get information relative to the farms & stock. Mr. Rapp rented out several of the outlying fields, as Mr. Owen's delay in returning at this season of the year would put it out of the power of the Society to farm the whole. The river rose slowly and only partially overflowed the banks. The Spring has been warm, but it has been called rather wet.

As Mr. Rapp wished to transact some business at Vincennes & Shakertown, I rode to keep him company: we reached Vincennes by 1/2 past 7 this evening, having taken the long ferry of two miles down the river. The distance from hence to Vincennes is 52 or 53 miles.

I saw Mr. & Mrs. Hay, Judge Blackford, Major Hurst, Judge Porter, Mr. W^m. McIntosh, Mr. & Mrs. Elston, Mr. Baddolet, Dr. Mrs. & Miss McName. As the court

Feby & March
& April

April

Sunday 3rd April

4th Monday

was sitting, I went in to see what was doing, & heard a charge brought against some young men for gambling [*] but it was not admitted in consequence of some informality. In the afternoon we rode to Shakertown, 20 miles north of Vincennes, about a mile from the left bank of the Wabash, near Busseron creek, and on some rising ground surrounded by a prairie. The place looks tolerably neat, but it is said to be rather unhealthy, as a pond of water is close to it. Several of the young men have been leaving this society lately. It does not appear very active or regular in its labour. It is not conducted either in a clever or enterprising manner. The number is said to be under 200, & composed for the most part of women & *old* men. They entertained us very hospitably, & would not receive payment. The next morning we walked through some of their houses, but did not see their system of worship.—Mr. Rapp had some conversation relative to private affairs, after which one of the Brethren, George Miller wrote [*sic*] 8 miles with us to two farms [*] belonging to the Harmonite Society, which they had taken for debts, & on which two families which had lived with the Harmonies now reside. We remained there about an hour, & after parting with our Shaker friend, we rode through the woods & some muddy roads to Vincennes, where we arrived between 7 and 8 o'clock at night.

April 5th
Tuesday

6th Wednesday.

I called and saw Mr. Rogers who keeps the Globe tavern, he gave me certificates of his character, & said he was ready to join Mr. Owen at a day's notice. I likewise called with Mr. McIntosh on a Mr. Baker who wishes to join.—In the evening there was a ball at Mrs. Jones, where about 15 couple danced. I met Mrs. Clarke & her sister Mrs. Armstrong. Mrs. Tibbs her cousin remained in New Albany.

7th Thursday

We rode to Princeton

8th Friday

We returned to Harmony.

9th Saturday

9th April
Saturday

Mr. Schnee and his family, his son-in-law Mr. Todd and family, Mr. Gaston & family [*] and Mr. Haleman and family, had come to live in Harmony while we were absent. I was busy through the day arranging with them in their houses, and for cutting bark.—This evening one male & 3 female shakers arrived in a spring waggon.—On my return from my journey I found an order which I have

preserved, from the Sergeant of the Militia Company of this district, ordering attendance at Muster at Springfield.—

This day I wrote some Articles of Association, and shewed them to Mr. Schnee. In the afternoon I walked with him Mr. Todd & a neighbour through the Orchard. The weather has been dry, fine & warm for some days and the thermometer ranging in the shade from 70° to 80° [Mr. Clarke of Illinois brought a letter from Mr. Owen dated 27th Feby.]

Sunday 10th
April

This morning W^m Owen was in the store taking an Inventory. I fixed for Mr. Halem, Mr. Gaston, Mr. Schnee's son & some hands for barking. I also attended at the Dye

Monday 11th.
April

house and saw the articles to be left by the Dyer. Mr. Schnee went & received over the Cut off Mill & Island. I got bier for the party barking in the woods.—After dinner I went out [*] to the farm with Mr. Rapp to see their method of planting corn.—Four boys or lads carried poles with small flags which they placed four & 1/2 feet apart then followed four ploughs forming furrows in the direction these marks. These furrows crossed other furrows which had been made the day before. Thus squares of 4 1/2 feet were formed by the crossing of the furrows. A female with a small basket on her arm, full of corn grains, walked a long each furrow dropping 4 or 5 grains in a square at each crossing furrow. Behind her came another with a hoe to cover them over. Two girls went before with pumkin seeds of which they dropped 2 or 3 grains at every third crossing. Fred. Rapp, took off his coat & walked along with them, sometimes conversing—sometimes dropping corn. I took off my coat, got a basket and went in my own furrow. We sometimes worked fast & when a few furrows in advance assisted our neighbours. At four o'clock we sat down under a shady tree, had some bread, butter, cheese, apples & beer, and a song in chorus, and continued work till near sun set. This method makes the business of corn planting really a party of pleasure, and is a very expeditious process.—American females have great aversion to working out of doors. This prejudice must [*] arise from bad management & over work at injudicious times; for unless with females in the family way or who have young children, no system of business can be so well arranged or prove of

(Monday 11th.
April continued)

more advantage for health, good spirits & improvement than the one which contrives that both males & females should have regular & moderate occupation & exercise at least twice a day out of doors. Fresh air is good for the constitution & enlivens the spirits; while sitting continually in doors, or working in confined space & air, is of no benefit either to mind or body. It is indeed both debilitating & graceless; and all who wish to become delightful companions to their neighbours, will choose to have a fair proportion of employment in one another's company out of doors.

Mr. Owen arrived on the 13th inst. with Mr. Roe & Mr. Watson, members of the New Jerusalem Church and deputies from a society in Cincinnati which is forming for the purpose of establishing a community, a Mr. Bourne from Baltimore who had been undersecretary to the Embassy at Paris, and a German gentleman who brought an introduction [*] to Mr. Rapp. The sister of the latter is married to the Wurtemberg minister at Washington. This traveller was in the Wurtemberg army, went to the Grecian war, & at length came to wander in the Woods of Western America. Mr. Owen saw several neighbours who engaged to join. He stated that many were coming from the East. A meeting was appointed for Wednesday the 20th inst. in the Harmony New Church, and we sent notices to the English settlements at Albion, & Wanbro; to Shawneetown, & Carmi, in Illinois, and to Springfield, Mount Vernon, Cynthiana, Evansville, Princeton, and Vincennes in this State.

At the meeting on the 20th, from 600 to 800 persons assembled, and Mr. Owen occupied between two & three hours after midday delivering his discourse. A Committee was nominated to commence on the following Monday 25th inst. The Cincinnati gentlemen left us on the 17th, to return home.—

Sunday 24th. April.

Some families arrived from Cincinnati. Among the number [*] were Mr. Jennings, Laurence, & Kellogg. These gentlemen were put on the Committee. Mr. Jennings had refused a good living & church from the Universalists, in order to establish himself in a Community on the New System. Mr. Laurence had a good business as blacksmith.

They reported that numerous other families were coming. In the course of the week the Committee made many arrangements. A Constitution for the Preliminary Society was made out, & I rode over to Evansville & got it printed. On the way I had to swim my horse over a creek & cross in a canoe. The Harmonian steam boat got aground off Shawneetown which delayed the departure of the Harmonians. While at Evansville I saw one boat load pass up. Finally the William Penn reached Harmonie on the morning of the 5th. May. By two o'clock every thing being on board, the remainder of the Harmonians assembled at Mr Rapp's house, the females sang some farewell [*] hymns & the band played several tunes in front of the house. All the families that had come into town as Mr. Owen's settlers had collected round. About 3 o'clock the Party proceeded towards the river side singing & playing music. At the end of the town they stopped, turned round & sung a farewell hymn and blessing to the Settlement; and afterwards continued on to the boat. Before embarking Mr. Owen caught the opportunity to express aloud his great sense of their integrity, strict justice & kindness, and said that in all the course of his experience he had never met with so honest and affectionate [*] a body of people. He was so much affected during his address that he could sometimes hardly speak. The whole scene was truly interesting and appeared to make great impression upon the persons assembled. All the men & women shook hands with the company around, & then went on board. A gun was fired & the steam boat got under way. As she went down the stream both parties continued for some time waving hats & handkerchiefs, while the band played a march. I never in my life returned home after parting with friends, with so sad a feeling as that (to me) melancholy afternoon.

(Thursday 5th.
May 1825)

[Mr. Jennings & Mr. Laurence & Mr. Upjohn took a passage on board the boat for the purpose of bringing back with them their friends from Cincinnati.—] [*] While I was away at Evansville the two Miss Wrights & Miss Ronalds arrived from New Orleans. They had parted from General La Fayette who had gone to St. Louis, & were to meet him again at Louisville about the middle of the month.—Several

other gentlemen & families were daily joining from the neighbourhood and from the East. Five young men arrived from Washington City. The committee were constantly occupied taking down the names and particulars relative to applicants, arranging the duties of the town &c.

Friday 6th. May Mr. Owen accompanied by his son & Mr. Rogers proceeded to Vincennes by the [*] way of Princeton for the purpose of declaring his intention of becoming a Citizen.—The Miss Wrights set out with Miss Ronalds to Albion on their way to Louisville.

On Sunday the 1st. May Mr. Owen had his first meeting in the Frame Church of the New Inhabitants & gave them a short discourse. In the afternoon Mr. Jennings was requested to preach to them.—On the Evening of Wednesday 3rd May there was a business meeting of the Society, to arrange the hours of meals & work & to give several explanations.—Saturday May 7th [*]¹

Sunday 5th. June
1825

[Mr. Birkbeck who had been staying a few days at Harmony was drowned attempting to swim on horseback over the Fox creek on his way home to Wanbro on Friday afternoon. One of his sons who was with him endeavoured in vain to save his life. His body was buried in the New burying ground at Harmony. A great portion of the population accompanied the funeral. From marks on the face & forehead, it is concluded that the horse must have struck him.—While he was at Harmony Mr. Owen had contrived to bring all the various disputes between Mr. Birkbeck & Mr. Flower & the inhabitants of the two settlements to an amicable adjustment.]

Immediately after dinner Mr. Owen went into the Hall where a great number of the Harmonians were assembled, and took leave of them by shaking hands with every one. Many of the women were affected to tears. We then mounted our horses and set out about 2 o'clock for Mount Vernon, accompanied by Dr. McNamee Mr. Schnee, W^m. Owen, and M^{rs}. Smith & her daughter, Mr. Smith & Mr. Williams, the three latter being on their return to Cincinnati to settle their affairs. We rode by the proposed site of a New town which is to be commenced on Mr. Owen's

¹The first book of Macdonald's Diary ends here.—Ed.

return. It is near the Springfield road, 3 miles from Harmony. Choice has been made of this spot, because it is a flat space of from 400 to 500 yards square with the ground falling away on every side. It is a convenient distance from Harmony, and has excellent timber standing on it, which will [*] be cut down in the fall of the year. We left Dr. McNamee to ride over the ground, & proceeded on our road to Mt. Vernon which place we reached before dark. Springfield has been almost deserted since the Court House has been removed & Mr. Schnee joined the New System. We slept at Squire Wilburn's.

[We found a Mr. Tyler with a (MS blank) at Mt. Vernon, He started for Harmony next day, when Wm. Owen & Mr. Schnee returned.]

This forenoon while waiting for a steam boat, Mr. Owen was requested to give an explanation of his system to the inhabitants. Having acceded to their request they assembled to the number of 40 or 50 persons, and he explained in about half an hour his Principles of Human Nature & the Practice he was commencing at New Harmony. The meeting broke up without any questions or remarks being made to him. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Pioneer the best built & fastest boat on the river appeared in sight; [*] We immediately got our baggage into a flat boat and rowed out into the middle of the river & were soon safe on board. Our rate of going was about 7 miles an hour.

The banks of the river appeared very beautiful, & much improved to my eye since my winter voyage, by the full foliage on the trees. In the evening Mr. Owen by request, stated the general principles of his system to the passengers assembled in the Cabin; they retired to rest all occupied with the question whether or not Man be a Machine.

About 1/2 past 6 this morning we reached Shippingport about 270 miles from Mt. Vernon, & came up to Louisville. Mr Owen called upon Mr Isaak Thom, Mr Stewart Mr Breden, & Mr Sabine. Mr. Walter had we understood gone down to visit Harmony. We saw Mr. Williams & Mrs. Smith off for Cincinnati by the Velocipede, [*] but Mr. Owen remained to give a discourse in the evening & went to dine with Mr. Thom. Mr. Wilman was occupied purchasing

Monday 6th.
June

Tuesday 7th.

Wednesday 8th.

goods for Harmony. The room chosen for the meeting was not very large; it was filled and many went away who could not get in. Mr. Owen stated & argued his general Principles. No reply was made. The meeting lasted 1 1/2 hour. Considerable impression seemed to have been made.

Thursday 9th.

We breakfasted at Shipping port with a french gentleman a rich merchant, who had been much interested with the System, and embarked in the course of the forenoon on board the General Pike steam boat laying off Louisville & bound to Cincinnati. It started a little after 2 o'clock & reached its destination, 150 miles about 1/2 past 11 the next morning.

Friday 10th.

(Friday 10th.
June cont^d)

When we landed at Cincinnati we put up at the City hotel, called at Mr. Smith's and several other families.—At Mr. Clarke & [*] Green's store we found that Mr. Owen's Essays, his discourses at Washington City, his discourse at Harmony, the Rules & regulations for a Community, the Constitution of the New Harmony Society, & his son's Outline of the System of Education at New Lanark, had been printed & for sale there. Mr. Owen purchased a complete assortment of printing materials to be sent to Harmony that a Paper may be immediately commenced. Mr. Owen had a large meeting at the Court House in the Evening. I saw Mr. Williams' school; he told me that he found every thing wrong in it since his return from Harmony. This day was extremely warm. Ther. in the shade 94°.

Saturday 11th.

Mr. Owen saw and conversed with a great number of people. We walked much through the town. The houses are fine brick buildings, the streets wide & regular. The situation of this city is beautiful surrounded by fine hills covered with wood. It is encreasing in size very rapidly. A great number of its inhabitants are desirous of [*] forming communities. Some land has already been purchased for that purpose about 60 or 70 miles in the interior, & a society is at present forming to remove there. The Eliza steam boat arrived this morning, and took us on board between 2 & 3 o'clock & started up the river. Several gentlemen & ladies on summer excursions were on board. The river was very low.

Sunday 12th.

Monday 13th.

Tuesday 14th.

We passed Sunday, Monday & part of Tuesday on board, but the water being too shallow to proceed beyond

Marietta, we landed there in the afternoon. At night Mr. Owen according to request met between 100 & 200 of the population in the Court house & explained his Principles. All appeared interested & many expressed a wish to join him. [I received two letters from a Thurso gentleman to be delivered to his friends.]

Early this morning we walked a mile to the extremity of the town to view an old encampment of Indians; it was the remains of mounds built in the form of a square. [*] The situation of Marietta is not very handsome or healthy. The water is bad & the land inferior. After breakfast we proceeded in a common country wagon about 35 miles along the Ohio bank of the Ohio river Wednesday 15th.

We proceeded this day 32 miles & crossed to the left bank of the river. The road was a common country road along the bank of the river. Very beautiful hills rose on both sides of the river the whole way. The banks are well people[d], & improvements appeared to be rapidly advancing. Thursday 16th.

We reached Wheeling 15 miles, between 10 & 11 this day. The Ohio & Courier steam boats also arrived, which proved that the Eliza could have got up if the Captain & Pilot had acted correctly. A considerable bustle is always going on in this place, as a place at which goods are shipped to go down the river or landed to go East. We hired a stage, and leaving [*] Mr. Wilman to set out the next morning for Philadelphia by the regular Baltimore stage, we proceeded to Washington 32 miles. Friday 17th.

We left this place about 7 o'clock & reached Pittsburg, 24 miles, between 3 & 4 o'clock. We drank tea at Mr. Bakewells & saw several gentlemen very friendly to Mr. Owen's system. Saturday 18th.

We set out at 5 o'clock this morning for Economy between 17 & 18 miles on the right bank of the Ohio on the road to Beaver. We were received with great joy and kindness by the Harmonians, who are as busy as bees building a new town. We dined with them, & returned at night to Pittsburg & met at night at Mr. Belnappe's house about 12 friends of Mr. Owen's system and heard the constitution of a society which they are forming read. Several very intelligent [*] men wish to form a community near Pittsburg. Sunday 19th.
(Sunday 19th.
cont'd)

Monday 20th.

After breakfast we called on Mr. Bakewell, and Drs. Swift & Herron, two presbyterian ministers, who expressed a wish to have Mr. Owen's system proved in practice. Mr. Bakewell shewed me through his glass manufactory, where they make very excellent work. I wrote a letter to the Committee. Mr. Owen paid several visits and took our places in the Erie stage to start tomorrow morning at 3 o'clock. The ther^r. stood yesterday at Economy at 94°.

Tuesday 21st.
June

At 2 o'clock this morning we started in the Stage for Erie. We had 10 passengers. The day was extremely warm, the country hilly, & the road in many places full of deep ruts. A great part of the day we only made 3 miles [*] an hour. We passed through a small town called Butler & reached Mercer, distant 63 miles, at 1/2 past 10 at night. The country is generally covered with fine oak forests, but in some places these woods have been cleared away to a considerable extent leaving only a few scattered trees & the oak underwood. It is conjectured that this destruction of the timber might have been made by the Indians. We passed a good many settlements. Mercer stands on a hill. The hotel is a tolerable one. As we were only there at night we could not see much of the place, but it seemed to be encreasing tolerably fast. On the road at one of the places where we changed horses, we met Mr. Wallace of Meadville, returning home with his family. He invited [*] Mr. Owen to stop at Meadville. At the Inn in Mercer we met a Mr. Hurdy cooper of Meadville who likewise invited us to stop there.

Wednesday 22nd.

We left Mercer at 2 o'clock & reached Meadville at 10 o'clock distant 34 miles. We had the same sort of country to travel through, though the road was better than yesterday. We crossed a marshy valley through which runs a small stream from a lake which is intended to supply water for the projected canal from Erie to Pittsburg.

Meadville stands in a spacious valley surrounded by hills covered with wood. A creek called French creek passes by the town & runs to the Alleghany river. There is another small creek which in rainy weather often floods the town. There are above 900 inhabitants. They have united & built a church, in which at different hours all the [*] various

sects attend worship,—Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbiters, Methodists & covenanters. This is a peculiar instance of liberality on such subjects. Mr. Hurdycooper returned home about 4 o'clock, & Mr. Wallace about 6 o'clock. We called at Mr. Hurdycooper's, before his return & saw Dr. Blossom & a Miss Colquhoun. In the evening we had a long conversation in front of Mr. Gibson's Tavern with Mr. Hurdycooper, Reynolds, Morrison, Cullen.—On the north side of the Town a College is building of brick, for the education of all the children in the place. The town bears an appearance of neatness which reminds one of the Old Country. About 4 miles out a party of Topographical Engineers are encamped, who are employed levelling & measuring the line of the proposed canal. Mr. Hurdycooper offered to [*] ride out with me tomorrow to visit them.—Within the last two years this has become a favorite travelling rout.—

(Wednesday 22nd
cont^d)

At breakfast we met a son of Mr. [MS blank] the councillor in Pittsburg, and walked with him to call on Mr. Wallace. A meeting was proposed to be held in the Church at 11 o'clock, & Mr. Wallace undertook to give notice. It was attended by the principal persons of the place, & lasted two hours. Mr. Owen explained his principles & shewed his plans. We afterwards were shewn the public library & introduced to the clergyman & librarian. We dined at Mr. Hurdycooper's and in the evening went to Mr. Wallace's. Mrs. Wallace is a very intelligent person; Miss Wallace an interesting young lady.

Thursday 23rd.
June

Between 9 & 10 o'clock this morning the Stage arrived with Mr. & Mrs. Howell & Mr. Davis & daughter in it. We took a friendly leave of our Meadville friends & set out for Erie. The road lay through [*] fine woods. It was tolerably good except in one place. Here it happened that as General La Fayette was travelling lately on his northern route, he told the Driver that he would give a dollar to drive him safely over the bad bit of road, which the driver did & received the dollar reward. His brother whips when they heard of this were so incensed at the meanness of the driver in accepting such a paltry sum, that they abused him every where. This driver happened to be a german, and their remarks on his conduct were still more goading as they said

Friday 24th.

that no American would have done so. We ascended several high ridges of land and at length had a view of Lake Erie. The scenery is by no means beautiful. We reached the town of Erie about 1/2 past 6 o'clock. It is a small poor place on the shore of the lake. Since the war little has been doing here. The country round is flat. To the west of [*] the town a neck of land stretches out, & bending round runs in front of the town forming a large bay which is secured by two wooden & stone piers. The vessels of war employed by the Americans have been sunk near to this. As the steam boat which runs between Buffalo & Detroit was not expected for two days, it was determined by our party to take the Stage to Buffalo.

Saturday 25th.

We left Erie about 4 o'clock in the morning & travelled through a flat woody country which is fast settling, at no great distance from the Lake though we could not see it. We reached Fredonia early in the day. This is a small town advancing rapidly in size. It is three miles from the lake.

Sunday 26th.

We again set out about 5 o'clock, and at the end of the 1st. stage came onto the shore of the lake. The road continued the rest of the way along its margin either on a flat sandy [*] shore or through the woods near the edge of a rocky shore. In some places it was very bad.—At Fredonia we changed our Stage for a Covered waggon in which we were very much jolted. We reached Buffalo between 5 & 6 o'clock.

Buffalo stands about 3 miles from the Niagara river. The new Canal from Albany passes the town & joins Buffalo Creek which enters lake Erie at the South end of the town. This town has greatly encreased since the war, and is at present rapidly improving. The surrounding scenery is however tame & uninteresting.

Monday 27th.

At six o'clock this morning we set out in a Stage for Black rock, 3 miles off, the place to cross the river into Canada. The river is 2/3^{ds} of a mile wide & very rapid. Black rock like Buffalo is on the increase and in full activity, while on the [*] contrary on the Canadian side, there were only a few scattered houses, and a melancholy stilness & inactivity. The land on both sides of the river is quite flat. Grand island appears from the river side

(Monday 27th.
contd)

quite flat & covered with thick timber. From Black rock to Mr. Forsyth's hotel just over the falls the distance is 18 miles. His house is built on a sloping bank rising gradually from the Falls. The land around is tolerably farmed. Immediately on the river bank a few tall trees & underwood are left & walks cut. The fall seems to have been occasioned by the sinking of the bed of the river, thus leaving a rocky edge for the whole stream to drop over into a lower channel which continues a rapid in a deep narrow channel for 7 miles, between high banks. [height of falls 160 ft. height of banks 206 depth of channel below the falls 170] Just at [*] the falls there are two islands dividing them into three. On the Canadian side, at the edge of the perpendicular rock a few hundred feet from the Great fall a wooden circular shaft staircase has been made. By descending this a visitor may pass close under the face of the rock and behold the river tumbling over his head; but he cannot do this without being wet to the skin. In the afternoon the sun shone out and we beheld a complete & beautiful rainbow formed in the clouds of spray which shot up several hundred feet over our heads & spread in every direction.

In the afternoon we proceeded about 8 miles down the bank of the river & crossed over to a small town where we passed [*] the night. The next morning we drove up to the inn on the East side of the Falls & after breakfasting, & visiting the falls we proceeded to Lockport, so called from the number of locks there constructed on the canal. [On our way to Lockport we passed through an Indian village. As the missionaries have gotten among these people, they are much altered from the genuine Indian character.] At seven o'clock in the evening we went on board the canal boat. It was comfortably arranged though crowded, & travelled at from 3 to 4 miles an hour. The banks are rapidly clearing & settling. We changed boats at Rochelle a rapidly encreasing town, situated on the Genesee river, where there are picturesque falls, & a great power of water for machinery of which the inhabitants are daily taking more & more advantage. We reached Schenectady Saturday evening [*] (Saturday 2nd. the 2nd July. As there are from this place to the Hudson July) river several locks to pass which render travelling by the

canal tedious, we landed, slept there & early in the morning went in the Stage to Albany which place we reached at 8 o'clock just in time for the steam boat in which we took our passage to New York. On board we met Mr. Fetherstonehaugh with whom we had some conversation. We arrived early on Monday morning the Celebrated Anniversary. We called at nine at the Mansionhouse hotel & saw La Fayette a complete picture of a French Marquis. [*] He shook us by the hand & said it was 'no day for thinking or talking,—only for acting.' A grand volunteer parade took place &c &c. Mr. Owen finding all engrossed with the joys of the day, went on to conclude his business at Philadelphia, while I remained to call on our friends, &c. I delivered letters sent me by Mr. Kemmis, one to Mr. Ensmith attorney general at New York from Mr. Burrows, & one to Mr. Wilkes cashier of New York bank from Mr. Rush. Also one from Mr. Upjohn of Cincinnati to his daughter. I went on Thursday evening the 7th. to Mrs. Cole's with Jacob Harvey where I met the Miss Wrights and several old acquaintances, [*] and Friday morning I went to see the High school opened this year under the direction of Professor Griscomb. Here has been adopted a good deal of Mr. Owen's method of giving instruction.

Mr. Owen returned this morning. He had passed the last night at Joseph Bounaparte's, who had been most anxious to make his acquaintance, & sent his carriage down to the landing place on the banks of the Delaware to receive him. Mr. Owen was accompanied by Mr. Say the naturalist. They sat in side the carriage & Lucien & Murat's sons on the box, one driving & the other opening the gates. [*] Murat's son has property in Florida where he is going to settle. The party were much interested and delighted with the New Plans, & promised a visit to Harmony next year. La Fayette has chosen the township, granted to him by Congress, in Florida near the seat of government. At Four O'clock we went on board a steamboat bound for Hartforth Connecticut accompanied by Mr. Horne from Philadelphia, an English man who has made a large fortune in the business of bleaching & preparing Cloth, & who is a great friend to Mr. Owen's plans. We passed along Long Island sound & up

4th. July

(Monday 4th
July contd)

7th. July

Friday 8th.

the Connecticut river, & reached Hartforth about 11 o'clock the next day [*]

9th. Saturday. We had fallen in with Colonel & [Satur]day the Mrs. Woodbridge & family in the Canal boat. He is 9th. Lt. Governor of the Michigan territory & was travelling with his wife to leave her with her father Judge Trumbull. He proceeded no farther than New York, as he was obliged to hasten back to Detroit.—After having been at the Inn we walked to the Judge's, and in the afternoon proceeded on to Springfield further up the river. The country was well cultivated and very beautiful. The towns of Hartforth and Springfield are well built. At the latter there is a large & well arranged Armoury. [*] The vale of the Connecticut is celebrated for its beauty. (Saturday 9th. July contd)

Early this morning we drove out in gigs with Mr. Dwight 10th. 3 miles to some rapids on the river, where a Boston Company are erecting spinning & weaving mills. The Manufactories are well built, and promise to be an excellent establishment. I saw some very fine bricks made by a patent machine invented by a Bostonian. The weather extremely hot. Ther^r. above 90°. The Unitarians have a handsome meeting house in this town.

At six o'clock this evening we parted from Mr. Horne & proceeded one stage in the Boston stage, in company with [MS blank] of the [*] Dover Manufactory 60 miles north of Boston, and a Springfield gentleman who once offered himself as candidate for the governorship.

The next day Monday we proceeded on to Boston. [The 10th. July country hilly & not a fertile soil though in many places well cultivated.] The day was intensely hot, & it was 11 o'clock at night before we reached the Exchange Hotel in that city, situated on a point of land nearly surrounded by the waters of the Bay in which there are many Islands, and long causeways.

Early this day Mr. Owen delivered some letters. We called Tuesday 12th. on the Lord Mayor Mr. Quincy and [*] the Revd. [MS blank] July who speaks highly of the System & begged to be a subscriber to the Harmony newspaper. We then drove to Mr. John Adams, 7 miles out of town. We sat with the old gentleman a couple of hours. The ther^r. was at 98°. He said that he would be 90 years old on the 20th. Oct^r. next. He is

short & square built, and must have been a very strong minded man in his day; but the heat of the weather & his great age combined to make him appear feeble. One of his remarks was that there was not a body of citizens in any country in Europe, not excepting England, which [*] could be called a people. Scotland he considered the most luminous spot on the Globe. He wished Mr. Owen success. [He asked us to stop dinner with his family, but said that he never went down himself. The party consisted of a lady who takes care of him, & a young lady I believe his niece.] Mr. Owen's man, Watson, had remarked in the kitchen that he had seen all the Ex Presidents except Mr. Adams. While we were at dinner this was mentioned to him, & he sent for Watson, shook hands with him, made him sit five minutes by his side, and told him his master was a very smart man, and would be of great service to the Human Race. [In America smart or intelligent is used for clever, & a clever man means a kind fellow but a simpleton.] On our return to the Hotel we found that the glass had for two hours been at 100° [*] a greater heat than had been known for several years. Several persons were taken ill, and in a few instances deaths were occasioned by drinking cold water while hot. In the evening we went out to Waltham where we slept & in the morning we walked through that Factory which is extensive. The country round is well cultivated. We passed a park & country house belonging to Colonel Gore. On our return we took places in the stage, and Drove to Bunker Hill which commands a fine view of the town & surrounding bay and country.—At one oclock [*] we left Boston in the Mail, & travelling all night reach Hartforth the next morning between 7 & 8 o'clock. After breakfast we went to the College & saw Bishop Brownell & one of the Professors, with whom we had a very friendly conversation. At eleven we went on board the Oliver Ellsworth steam boat, where we again fell in with Mr. Horne, & reached New York at 8 o'clock next morning. We called upon several friends, & went in the evening to Mr. Wilkes' at Freemont where we met the Miss Wrights & the Flowers. They were much occupied about their plans for slave emancipation. [*]The next morning we embarked on board the Canada Packet ship 540 tons,

(Tuesday 12th.
cont^d)

Wednesday 13th.
July

Thursday 14th.
July

Friday 15th.

Saturday 16th.
July

captⁿ Rogers.—We were taken down in the steamboat which leaves the end of the Battery walk at 10 o'clock and put on board the packet lying too at the Quarantine ground off Staten Island. The cabin passengers were 17, Mr. Alvarado, a Guatemala merchant, Mr. Owen, Mr. Vanderhurst an Englishman having property at St. Helena 60 miles south of Charleston, Mr. Krumbhaar an American German, Mr. Lavater, a German whose mother is English Mr. Faerbar a German Mr. Westerfeldt a Swede, [*] Mr. Brock a Glasgow gentleman, Mr. Higgins, Mr. Hall, Scotch from South Carolina, Mr. Calder, Scotch, Mr. Stansfeldt German Mr. Furst from Hamburg. Mr. Morrice, American from South Carolina, Mr. Osborne, English, & Mr. Russel a Yankee or New Englander from New York.

We parted from our pilot outside of Sandy Hook about 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and made sail with a clear sky, smooth sea, & fine southerly wind. When we got into the Gulf Stream we had rather close & hot weather with thunder [*] and lightning but no boisterous winds. Our course was East nearly by compass.

On Wednesday evening the 3rd August between 5 & 6 o'clock we came in sight of the Mizen Head and soon afterwards Cape Clear, not having had occasion during the whole of our passage to take in a reef. Our occupation during the voyage had consisted in reading Segur's Russian Campaign, Madame de Genlis Memoirs of her early life, O'Meara's Voice from St. Helena, Bacon on the improvement of Knowledge, John Bull in America, & some less important works, miscellaneous conversation, and whist [*] chess & backgammon. I frequently conversed in Spanish with Mr. Alvarado relative to the affairs of his country. The Guatemala consul in New York, had, as he informed me, translated Mr. Owen's two Discourses delivered in Congress, into spanish, & he expressed a great desire to have the System adopted in that Republic.

The next morning the weather became hazy & boisterous with a head wind. We lay till the following morning beating about at the mouth of the Irish channel, when we had a fine westerly breeze which [*] brought us to the Pilot's post about 3 o'clock in the afternoon where we lay too under the

1825

Wednesday 3rd.
AugstThursday 4th.Friday 5th.

north shore of Wales. No Pilot boats were in sight. A good many sail were coming in. During the night it blew extremely hard from the S. West.

Saturday 6th.
Augt.

About 9 o'clock a pilot boarded us. He informed us that so many vessels were coming into port that the pilots could not get out & in fast enough. We landed about 2 o'clock at Liverpool, & by an order from the custom house got our baggage landed & passed after hours. I had written by the [*] packet of the 8th. ult^o. to mention our intention of crossing by that of the 16th., but we reached port within two days of her arrival, making a shorter passage by 5 days.

LIVERPOOL

7th. August 1825.

SECOND JOURNEY TO AMERICA, 1825-26

AT TWO o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st. Octr., October 1st.
1825.
Mr. Owen, Mr. R. D. Owen, Mr. Whitwell (architect) and Mr. Smidt (a prussian) and myself sailed from Liverpool in the Packet ship New York for New York. We had 41 cabin Passengers on board, consisting of Mr. Loyd Rogers of Baltimore, Mr. George Barclay of New York, Mr. Prince of Do., Mr. Lowry of do., Mr. Charters of do., Mr. Heyward of South Carolina, Mr. Hamilton & Miss Hamilton of New York, Mr. Hayle a Lancashire woolen manufacturer, Mr. Camac of Philadelphia, Mr. Tibbetts of Schenectady, Mr. Lynch of New York, Mrs. Walker of Quakeress of New York (who has travelled much among the Indians & on Society business in Europe,) Mr. & Mrs. Downing of New York, & Miss Penn accompanying her cousin Mr. Camac, and Mr. Garcia & family and [*] a company of Performers from the Italian opera.—[Captain Bennett Captain of the New York.] The weather was stormy for the first 10 days, that together with our large number rendered matters rather uncomfortable. Fine weather followed and we gradually got into order. Mr. Owen had discussions with several of the Passengers relative to the System. We had a little music occasionally from Mr. Lynch or the opera singers. Miss Garcia has a fine voice & performs well. Mr. Garcia was composing music almost the whole of the voyage. This was occasionally rehearsed in a low tone. A few Gazettes were published. Mr. Whitwell & myself were the Editors. We called the ship Ebor Nova, (Ebor being the Latin name for York in England) and the Gazette the *Sextant*. Much good humour prevailed and [*] a variety of amusing quizzes published.—An ode was likewise published, and set to music by Mr. Garcia.—On our reaching the Bay of New York, it was sung on the deck in full chorus.—[A lottery was drawn the prize being for the holder of the ticket naming the hour of the ship passing the line between Forts Diamond & Richmond in the Bay. It was won by Mr. Lowry.] We reached Sandy Hook about 2 o'clock on Sunday morning the 6th. Novr.—

Sunday 6th.
Novr.

The day was very calm and rather thick. In the evening a steam boat took us on board and landed us on the Battery. Our Party got in comfortable appartments in the City Hotel.

The City was full of strangers. On Friday last, a superb procession of boats had gone down the bay in honor of the opening of the canal communicating the waters of the Lakes with the Hudson, and a Ball to be given by the City was fixed for tomorrow. [*]

Monday 7th.
Novr.

This morning Mr. Hulme and Dr. Price called with two Harmony Gazettes & letters, all very satisfactory, the health of the Place having been remarkably good all the summer. Dr. Price introduced two Quakers, one a Mr. Gauce from Wilmington, the other Mr. Trueman of this city, & a Mr. Johnson, all friends to the Plan. We learnt that societies were forming in Philadelphia for the purpose of establishing communities. We got orders at the custom house for our baggage, gave a letter which Mr. Owen wrote at sea, for publication in the New York Papers. In the evening we got our personal baggage landed with only the form of unlocking our trunks—Four tickets of invitation had been sent to us for the Ball. At 10 we went there, spoke to the governor, his lady, Captⁿ Rogers & his family of the Canada, Mr. & [*] Mrs. Thomas, Mr. Hulme's daughter and the two Mr. Shanks. The room was hung with leaves, & full of mixed assemblage.

Monday 7th.
(contd)

Tuesday 8th.

Mr. Owen went with Mr. Johnson & Mr. Gauce to Elias Hicks' (25 miles off in Long Island). [At ten we sent off our English letters. I wrote to William, my uncle & my Aunt Annie.] I called on the Governor, & left Mr. Rush's letter of introduction & two views of Lanark & Proposed communities. I also called for Mr. Owen & left a letter for Mr. John Hunter in Broadway. I called with Robert on Mr. & Mrs. Thomas. After dinner we went to the play with Dr. Price & Mrs. Warner (his sister), Mrs. Fisher (her sister), Miss Cistairs the daughter of the lady at whose house they board. These ladies propose going to Harmony. [*]

Wednesday 9th.
Novr.

We left our cards for Mr. Ludlow & the British consul. We escorted Mr. Garcia & family to see the City Hall. In the saloon, the Governor De Witt Clinton was sitting; I therefore introduced the Party to him. He was extremely

polite. Afterwards we walked with them to the New High School. The school was out, but I introduced the ladies to Professor Griscomb. He gave Robert a small vol. which he had lately published explanatory of his school system. Another school is building in that neighbourhood for females, this being exclusively for boys. It will hold 400 girls. After dinner we called on Dr. Price's friends & Mr. Hulme, who has been [*] staying here to visit his daughter who arrived last evening from France by the Havre packet.—Between 6 & 7 Mr. Owen returned quite pleased with his visit to Elias Hicks, who approves of his views. There are two parties of Quakers, Unitarians and Trinitarians. He is a supporter of the former & very influential among them. At night we went to Mr. Wilkes in Hudson Square. [The Wm. Burns (packet) came in, not having left Liverpool for 12 days after us. She brought the Model & a man & maid, & baggage.]

This morning Robert & myself wrote to Harmony. Thursday 10th.
 Mr. Aufrère son in law of Mrs Lockhart called on me, his Novr.
 address 49 Canal Street. Mr. John Stevens (Col. and a great man for Rail Roads) called & introduced himself as a friend of Mr. Hill cashier of Hoboken Bank, whom [*] we met last year in the Albany steamboat,—He expressed a great desire to converse with Mr. Owen. Mr. Owen went to the Custom house to get his baggage landed & arrange about sending it west by way of New Orleans. Mr. Richardson of Utica, a millar whom we had met in the Clinton canal boat, was with us. Mr. Owen gave him a copy of the Drawing of a community. A Mr. Conn, an Engineer, called. Mr. Whitwell went with him to see a new steam Engine invented by him. He was much pleased both with the Engineer & his apparatus. At one o'clock we called at the City Hall & saw the Governor. He agreed to take the chair at a public meeting next Wednesday to hear Mr. Owen explain his system. He observed [*] that the most superior Thursday 10th
 female of his acquaintance (Miss Wright) was a complete contd.
 convert to the System. Thence we went to Mr. Peel's museum, which has lately been opened in Broadway. This gentleman, I am told, has in Philadelphia the best collection in the U. States. He took us into his sanctum sanctorum

and shewed us his paintings. His name is Rembrandt. His father is an old man. We were introduced to a Mr. Stansbury a clergyman. He was extremely friendly. We were likewise introduced to two other gentlemen belonging to the museum. I called on Mrs. George Barclay 42 Courtland St. & Mr. & Mrs. Clibborn 124 Greenwich St. Engaged to dine Wednesday with 1st & Thursday with 2nd.

At five o'clock we took a coach & called for Mr. [*] Owen at Mr. Poste's, Franklin Bank Franklin Square. We sat with the ladies a few minutes & proceeded to call on Mr. Wilkes; drank tea at Jacob Harvey's; went for a short time again to the museum where we met Dr. Hosack, and thence to the Lunch Club of New York Litterati in Broad Way, a short distance from Washington Hall Hotel.

Friday 11th.
Novr.

At 6 o'clock Mr. Owen, Robert, & Smith accompanied by Dr. Price & his party, started in the Union line of steam boats for Philadelphia. Mr. Whitwell & myself got an order from the custom house to land the Model. We went for a short time to the Academy of Arts. The rooms are bad and though there are a few good pictures, yet in general the exhibition is very inferior. At 12 we called on the governor [*] and fixed that Mr. Owen should have a public meeting in the City hotel on Friday the 18th. at 11 o'clock. We called on Miss Upjohn. The Eldest sister had gone to Cincinnati to join her father; the rest propose going there early in spring. We purchased a number of the Religious Chronicle in which there was a letter from a clergyman who had been at New Harmony, and found the school in bad order and the farm & other establishments not well managed. A Mr. Page called. He is a singular man, & has had his head turned by some fanciful speculation. He dresses in an extraordinary green gown. He spoke of having made some wonderful discovery relative to some thousand years of the world's existence. He said he understood the magical art, and had for some years been recommending communities on Mr. Owen's plan, in which he would establish theatrical religion. He called himself "the Page of Nature; the Page [*] of History; King David's Page, and Hisom Hieroglyphicus. He had been that morning to mention the subject to the governor who had fixed an interview at his

private house for the following morning at 8 o'clock.—We allowed him to run out without interruption, and then he took his leave requesting we would relate what he had told us to Mr. Owen. After his departure, I could not help laughing at the idea of the governor connecting our views with the insane fancies of this fanatic, and I half asked myself whether I had entirely escaped the disaster of insanity.—Mr. Johnson who called with Mr. Gauce, again called. He spoke rather extravagantly of some improvements he had made in the art of type founding, and about his early career as an actor. [*]

As soon as he left us we walked out, and passed the evening at La Fayette circus where we saw some good horsemanship. Friday 11th.
Nov^r. (contd.)

At six this morning we started in the steam boat for New Brunswick 45 miles up the Raritan river, thence about 30 miles in stages through Princeton & Trenton to the banks of the Delaware where we embarked on board the Trenton steam boat, a beautiful & very fast boat. We proceeded 30 miles down the river to Philadelphia where we arrived at 1/2 past 5, & found Mr. Owen at the Mansion house hotel. The fare was 2\$. We breakfasted in one boat & dined in the other, 1/2\$ each. The road was very rough from New Brunswick to the Delaware, but they drove fast. There [*] is an opposition line, which is the cause of the low fares. Owing to the dry weather, the road was extremely dusty, and the river being low, we proceeding 6 or 8 miles below Trenton before we embarked.—The day was beautifully clear, but there was a very cold wind.—[In the steamboat I met Mr. Osborne with whom I had crossed the Atlantic in the Canada. He introduced me to Mrs. Gray wife of the B. consul at Norfolk Virginia. She had known Major Cunningham of the Engineers in Bermuda.] In the evening we saw Mr. Say and Mr. Haynes. The latter lives at Germantown 7 miles out of Philadelphia. Mr. Whitwell remarked that the country from New Brunswick to Trenton looked wild, that the driving of the coachman would alarm our English whips, and that the country had a very wintry appearance, owing to the brown cast of the ground & the want of leaves on the trees. This is caused by the sharp frosts in the nights.—

Saturday 12th.

[A letter arrived from Mr. Lewis the Secretary of N. Harmony to Mr. Owen, he remarked that the school was the best part of the Establishment & that every thing would go right on his return. The Place had been remarkably healthy.]

Sunday 13th.
Novr.

After breakfast Dr. Rush called. I gave him a letter of introduction from his brother. Also came in Mr. Spackman with Dr. Price & his brother [*] Eli Price, & Mr. Hulme's 2nd son. Mr. Owen went out to breakfast. Mr. Whitwell went out with Mr. Spackman, & engaged to meet Dr. Rush after dinner to go & see the Water Works & Penitentiary. [Mr. Spackman agreed with me as to the necessity of getting foremen for the several branches of business in New Harmony.] Mr. Owen was to go out with Mr Haynes to dine at Germantown, & come into to Mr. Fieball's [Phi-queball's]. I remained at home having a cold. In the evening Mr. Spackman called, & we had a long conversation about advertising for various artificers to go to New Harmony.

Monday 14
Novr.

Early this morning Mr. Owen & Dr. Price set off to Wilmington with Mr. Gause, to see the society formed there. After breakfast Mr. Spackman came in, & we drew out the proposed advertisement which he engaged to have inserted for one week in all the papers of this city. We called on Mr. Camac, & saw Miss Penn, Mr. Smith & Captⁿ. Ricketts who was in the Portuguese service but [*] retired, and is now married to one of Camac's sisters. I called & left Mr. Rush's letter of introduction to Mr. C. T. Anquisoll. We called on Dr. Rush & Mr. Longstreath. We saw Mr. Price & Mr. McClure in the house of the latter. In the evening we went with young Camac & Mr. Smith to see the Atheneum & the Museum. The latter is a private collection, fitted for a public show. Admittance 25\$ [cents].

Tuesday 15th.
Novr.

After Breakfast I wrote to the Committee inclosing the slip of the advertisement & afterwards went out with Mr. Spackman. I left my card for Mrs. Grey at Mrs. Sword's boarding house in Walnut St. Called & saw the British Consul Robertson, was introduced to Mr. Chancey the lawyer in the circuit court, left my card for Mr. Vaughan at the Atheneum, was introduced to Dr. Meek, and went to Tanner's shop [*] about some state maps. We walked through the U. States bank, and went to the top of it. It

Tuesday 15th.
Novr. (cont^d)

is a fine marble building. We likewise saw a new church neatly built. After dinner Mr. McLure & Say called. In the evening we went for half an hour to Mr. Spackman's & afterwards to Dr. Rush's, where I was introduced to a Miss Roach an English lady who lives with her brother at Bedford in Massachusetts. He is a great advocate for the New System.

At 6 o'clock we left Philadelphia by the New York steamboat. We travelled in company of Reuben Haines of Germantown & his wife, her sister, Miss Post, his mother, and a young gentleman. The day was beautifully fine. [*] We reached New York at 1/2 past 5 in the evening. Kean had come out at the theatre; had met great opposition, but having published a letter begging pardon, was getting up hill again. The Italian opera had advertised for operas twice a week for three months. We found extracts in the N. York papers relative to Mr. Owen's meeting in London. Wednesday 16th.

After breakfast we busied ourselves about the baggage to be sent round to New Orleans, getting the model put together, & sending copies of the 1st. number of the Harmony Gazette which had been reprinted here [*] send round to the different Editors & Literary Societies. A Mr. Haymer a mathematical teacher called. He wishes to join at Harmony. I called at the City Hall with Mr. Owen on the Governor who engaged to see the Model at one o'clock. We then went & saw Mr. Colden. On our way back we overtook Miss Douglas, with whom I walked home to 55 Broadway. The sisters came with us to the City hotel where Mr. Ray delivered a lecture on the patronage of the fine arts. After the lecture the governor, Mr. Murray & the two ladies went & looked at the Model. I afterwards accompanied Miss Hamilton to call on the Miss McEwin's. In the course of the walk Mr. Murray remarked in reply to several favorable observations from [*] Miss Douglas, that those with whom he had conversed thought Mr. Owen a mad visionary. Oh! said the Governor, that is the fate of men of talent; their enthusiasm is always called madness, & yet nothing great can be accomplished without it.— Thursday Novr.
17th.

After breakfast the saloon was prepared for the public meeting, & the model placed in the middle of the room; at Friday Novr.
18th.

Friday Nov^r.
18th. cont^d.

11 o'clock a large respectable & literary company assembled. Mr. Owen addressed them for two hours. They were remarkably attentive and much interested. His discourse has been the subject of much conversation since. At 4 o'clock we dined 3 miles out of town, at Jeremiah Thompson's where we met a large party of Friends. [*] The conversation was about Mr. Owen's Plan, and kept up principally by Mr. McFarlane, a Scotch schoolmaster. In the evening we called at Mr. Post's at the Franklin Bank, and on the Garcias.

Saturday Nov^r.
19th.

We called today on the Douglas, Hamilton, Captⁿ. Rogers, Mr. Bayard, and Mrs. George Barclay. We dined at Mr. Clibborn's where I met Captⁿ. Barclay of the navy. In the evening we went to Mr. Peel's museum who had borrowed the model to put up in his museum till the day of sending it to Philadelphia. Afterwards I went for an hour to the Garcias.—George Hutchinson received his instructions & went on board the Phenix Captⁿ. Jenkins with all [*] the heavy baggage. The vessel will sail tomorrow for New Orleans.

Sunday 20th.

After breakfast some gentlemen came in and had a long conversation relative to the New System. I afterwards called on Mr. Aufrere. Mr. Owen breakfasted with a Quaker of the name of Beal, a great friend to his plan. Mr. Hulme dined with us. Mr. Owen met Mrs. Sketchley in the street, who invited him to call on her. She is a lady who was extremely interested with the discourse which he delivered at the Public Meeting. We called there in the evening, and saw her & her daughter (a very fine girl). Mr. Sketchley was in the country. He commanded a Liverpool Packet for a length of time; but making an independence, he retired from business. We met there two Patersons, brothers of one who crossed last year in the same ship with us, and Mr. Pohlentz who was introduced to me by Mr. Albers in Boston. We drank tea [*] with Captain Bennett.

Monday 21st.
Nov^r.

After breakfast we all called on Mr. Miesto and went with him to see a horizontal windmill. Afterwards I called with Mr. Owen on Mr. Wilkes, Mr. Colden, Mr. Buchanan, Dr. Blatchley, Madame Garcia, Mr. Thomas, Dr. Hosack, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Post, Jeremiah Thompson, the Governor, Dr. Renwick, Dr. MacNevin, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. MacVicar, Mr. Noah, Mr. Charles King, Miss Douglas, Mrs. Sketchley.

Mr. Houston & Mrs. Sistare. We dined at Mr. George Barclay's where we met his father & mother a sister & two brothers & Mr. Aufrere. In the evening we called on Mrs. Sketchley and took leave. She particularly asked concerning the road to New Harmony & wished us a good journey and every success.

At 6 o'clock we set out by the steamboat. At Trenton we met Prince Charles Bonaparte with whom we went down the Delaware three miles and landed at Bordentown on the left bank, from whence we walked half a mile to Point Breeze where Joseph Bonaparte lives. Prince Charles is married to his daughter [*] and lives in a house adjoining his grounds. We met at dinner a Madame La Coss & the Count Meritot (Miot). He talked a great deal about Mr. Owen's plans. Prince Charles is a great admirer of them. In the house are a great many very fine paintings, and in the garden several fine family busts. A house which he had built on his arrival in this country was burnt down a few years since; by which he lost half his fortune & many beautiful paintings.

Tuesday 22nd.
Nov^r.

Before breakfast we rode round the grounds, which are well laid out, & on which many improvements are making. At breakfast Prince Lucian Murat who lives on a farm at some distance, came in. A long conversation ensued relative to Mr. Owen's [*] system, which was very interesting. Joseph has taken the name of Count Survilliers. He entered freely into the subject & made many very striking remarks. He is a man of strong steady powers of mind, and without any affected restraint is and acts the kingly character. He offered to shew us his library & escorted us through a suite of handsome appartments ornamented by a variety of beautiful paintings. He accompanied us through his grounds to the river side & taking friendly leave, said he should be happy to see us again. I afterwards heard that he had refused repeatedly to receive English officers. When the M P's were in this country, a friend undertook to introduce them without first asking the Count to [*] allow him. He met the Count in his grounds and when he presented them, the Count made a profound

Wednesday 23rd.
Nov^r.

Wednesday 23rd.
cont^d.

bow, & turned about and left them; so that they had only a hasty & slight view of his person.

We embarked on board the steamboat at half past two, as it passed & reached Philadelphia between 5 & 6. We found about two dozen persons waiting to apply as mechanics to join at Harmony, according to the advertisement. Very few of them were good subjects. Their names were taken down to be written to, on our arrival at Harmony.

Thursday 24th.

Mr. Owen had a public meeting at Eleven. There was a very full attendance of respectable people. He explained his principles, but left the explanation of [*] his proposed arrangements till tomorrow, as the Model had not arrived. A few questions were asked by two Clergymen of the Society of Friends, which he answered & the meeting separated in good humour.

Friday 25th.

Another crowded meeting took place at Eleven, at which Mr. Owen received a letter asking him two questions, whether his system would do for those who believed the Scriptures to be a Divine Revelation, and whether he believed Man to be born in sin & brought up in iniquity. He answered that he did not think any revelation had been given to men but through facts, explained the principles of the System, and added that from his long experience he was thoroughly convinced that human nature was a delightful compound. He concluded [*] by explaining the Model & the mode of life of one of the New Societies. This discourse occupied two hours. No other person spoke, & the meeting after close attention broke up highly interested.

Saturday 26th.

At 6 o'clock this morning Mr. Owen went by the steamboat with Smith & the Model to Point Breeze. I called on Mr. Hulme, Mr. Longstreath & Mrs. Price, Mr. Spackman, Dr. Rush, Madame Fretageot, Mr. Camac, & Mr. Wharton, the mayor. I wrote a letter to Mr. Carey the bookseller to forward annually 5 £ of books to Ed. Stanbery addressed to the care of Messrs. Rathbone, Brothers & Co. In the evening Mr. Owen returned from Point Breeze.—[*]

Sunday 27th.
Nov^r.

Sunday 27th
Nov^r.

This day we dispatched the model by the Steamboat at 12 o'clock for Baltimore. [I saw gen^l. & Mrs. Van Rensaleer on their way to Washington.] We addressed several newspapers to England. I called on Mr. Camac & saw Miss Penn.

I afterwards called on Mr. Charles Ingersoll, Mr. Charles Tappan (2nd door above 13th. St. south side of Chesnut St.) Mr. William Meredith and Mrs. Marcoo. I dined at Mr. Ingersoll's. He is the Attorney General of the state. A gentlemanly person. His wife is a pleasing woman. At night we made up the packets of letters to be sent to England.

This morning I sent several books & some linen for Mr. Owen to be put with Dr. Price's baggage, and sent the letters to Samuel Spackman's office. I likewise called on Mr. Carey & settled about his remitting yearly 5 £ worth of American books [*] to Ed. Stanbery, and took leave of Mrs. Turner & her two amiable daughters. Mr. Whitwell & myself started in the 12 o'clock steamboat. On board I met a Mr. Dickey in whose company I had dined at Mr. Clibborn's in New York, & Mr. Jenckes the inventor of the Alleviator (a machine for raising sick persons in their beds). We reached Newcastle at 5 o'clock, where we got into stages & crossed a distance of 16 miles to Frenchtown on the Elk river where we embarked on board another steam boat at 8 o'clock. We passed down this river into the Chesapeak & up to Baltimore which we reached between 2 & 3 o'clock in the morning of Tuesday [Fare from Phila to Frenchtown including dinner 3\$ from thence to Baltimore including tea & bed 3\$]

Monday 28th.
Novr.

We rose between 6 & 7 and went up to Barnum's hotel. After breakfast I had the model taken to the waggon office & booked for Washington. We then visited the Catholic cathedral, the Unitarian [*] chapel & the court house. In the latter we heard part of the trial of a young man confined in the Penitentiary, and who had in a fit of passion killed one of his comrades. It was an interesting case and a striking instance of the prejudicial tendency of the coercive system upon human nature. The young man was 18 years old & had been sentenced, when only 13, to 6 years confinement in the Penitentiary; and now within a few months of the expiration of his imprisonment was guilty of one of the most violent acts that can be committed! I remarked in the lines of his countenance the powerful influence of a constant disgrace & punishment during the 6 most important years of his youth. How can fear, constraint

Tuesday 29th.

and the continual sense of oppression, fail to hurt the human feelings, render the passions violent, and all the sentiments those of animosity; unless indeed such a life & miserable treatment happen to destroy all the spirits & enfeeble the frame to such an extent as to leave the being no better than an abject crouching slave? [*] after dinner we called on Mr. Denison floor cloth manufacturer who shewed us a new manufactured canvass for covering houses. We went with him to his private house & drank tea with his wife. We afterwards called on Mr. Skinner the Editor of the American farmer. He introduced us to his family, and gave us some white wine made in South Carolina. We heard a young lady sing remarkably well; but were surprised to find rather an unfavorable feeling prevail relative to the Italian singers arrived at New York. [our expenses were 5 1/2\$]

Wednesday 30th.

A little before 9 this morning we left Baltimore in a 9 inside stage for Washington distant 35 miles, fare 3\$ each & dinner on the road 75 cents. Some members of congress were in the stage. We reached Brown's Inn (The Indian Queen) in Pennsylvania avenue Washington, at 4 o'clock. We walked through the city, & in the evening I wrote up my journal.

Thursday 1st.
Decr. [*]
Thursday 1st.
Decr.

After breakfast we called at the Patent office & saw Dr. Thornton and Mr. Elliot. When the English landed & burnt several of the public buildings Dr. Thornton saved the Post Office in which the Patent office is, by representing to the Commanding office[r] that if he burnt the building he would destroy many valuable improvements in the arts. He sent several constitutions to South America, and recommended the Congress at Panama & the building of a central Capital of which he drew a design. Some of his constitutions were sent to Spain, which cause[d] the government of that country to make a complaint against him. Mr. Elliot who is in his office, is very friendly to Mr. Owen's plan & is preparing a printing machine as a present to New Harmony. We afterwards called on Mr. Rush the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Vaughn (the British minister, Mr. Addington having sailed for England six weeks back) Mr. Baker, the British Consul General, & Mr. Thos. Law, for whom

Mr. Camac gave me a letter. He engaged to call for us about 12 o'clock tomorrow [*] and introduce us to the President. We dined at the Hotel at 3 o'clock; about 90 sat down to table, consisting for the most part of members of Congress. They looked like men of business met together for the purpose of doing business. It is customary for them to meet the first few days at the hotels, where they remain till they have formed their clubs, or chosen boarding houses to reside in during the session. This day has been cloudy & rainy. Though a good deal of building is going on, yet Washington is a very straggling, awkward, ugly & uncomfortable place, and must continue so for many years to come. The broken ground, the complete want of trees as well as cultivation, & the paltry buildings scattered here and there, give to the whole landscape a rude and barren appearance. Passing the southern extremity of the city, you gradually descend to the side of the Potomack where George Town stands. This is about a mile from Washington, though almost connected by houses the whole way. As the banks of the river are high and well wooded, the situation of George town is far more picturesque than that of Washington with its scattered lines of streets, drained marsh on [*] one side and flat barrens on the other.

After breakfast we went to the Patent office, where the Model had arrived. It was taken out of the boxes and placed in a private room. Mr. Elliot introduced us to Mr. Liddle Unitarian minister. He is librarian to the Washington library which contains 5000 vols. at present in one of the rooms belonging to the patent office. At 12 o'clock Mr. Law called and walked with us to the President's. We sent in our cards & I sent in Mr. Owen's letter presenting the Model & a letter of introduction sent to me last winter from Mr. Rush while he was in London. We were admitted immediately. The President resembles his father in figure, being short & stout & having a large head. He was plainly dressed, and not at all ceremonious. He said that he had read in the newspaper that Mr. Owen had a Model to present to him. He fixed tomorrow at 11 o'clock to receive it. We staid only a few minutes with him. Mr. Elliot shewed us the city hall, of which only a small part is built. The model

Friday 2nd.
Dec^r.

stands in the building & is neatly made. Between 3 & 4 o'clock we dined at Mr. Elliot's. [*] He is a widower & lives in a small house on the side of the rising ground near the Capitol. He shewed us some astronomical instruments in his house belonging to the government which he uses. The President some times visits him when he is going to make observations. We met at dinner Col. Robbido of the Engineers, & Captⁿ. Moffatt of Virginia.

Saturday 3rd.
Dec^r.

At eleven o'clock we had the Model conveyed to the President's house. It was laid on a large table in the Anteroom, where Mr. Whitwell explained it to him. He only asked a few simple questions, and concluded by saying that it might remain there for some days, after which he would have it deposited either in the Patent office or the Capitol. He appears a thoughtful man. It struck us that he was out of spirits, but this might proceed from the fatigue of business and seeing so many visitors; for every member or person coming to Washington on business calls upon him, & as congress is to open next Monday these duties at the present moment press hard upon him. He was very polite to us. While we were explaining the model, three members called. The President immediately asked us all into his sitting-room. In the course of general conversation, he said to the members that we [*] were friends of Mr. Owen who had brought a Model of the town he proposed building. "What," said one of them, "is that the Harmony man?" After their departure the explanation was continued for a short time, and then we retired, having been received & treated with great politeness. It is said that the President has, all his life, been too much occupied with study & business to be what is called in company '*a man of the world*'. We walked to George town, situated on the sloping ground on the left bank of the Potomac. Although it is not a neat town, yet it is handsomely situated & appears more comfortable as a place of residence than straggling Washington. We dined at Mr. Law's on the Capitol Hill. Besides his son we met Col. White, Mr. [MS illegible] & another gentleman, all members of congress. After dinner Mr. Law left us for a couple of hours to attend a meeting of the Institute. On his return he gave us a pamphlet on Paper Currency. The

(Saturday 3rd
Dec^r. contd)

society meets monthly, and during the sitting of congress every week. Mr. Law spoke of addressing the President that he might allow the Model to be placed in their Hall in the Capitol where it would be seen by every one. He likewise offered us a letter of introduction to Mr. Jefferson. [*]

Mr. Elliot called & accompanied us to the Unitarian chapel in which Mr. Little preached. The President came in quite by himself, sat alone in a private pew, & retired after the service without any particular notice being taken of him. It is remarkable that the First Magistrate in one country should regularly attend a place of worship which in the Mother Country is considered a highly disreputable & profane place. In the afternoon we walked to George town & saw Mr. Thorp, whose family resides at New Harmony. He has lately received newspapers & a satisfactory letter from that society. It appears to me that there is a great error committed in the conduct of the New Harmony Gazette. It seems to be written by Deists with a design of converting its readers. It consists almost entirely of theoretical discussions. Whereas I think that it should only contain on the one hand a statement of the practical proceedings of the population, those practices in operation, others in prospect, & the effect of what had already been done; and on the other [*] hand scientific articles, information on practical subjects, and as full an account as possible of all the interesting events of the times. The Old System is based on mere theory & supported by speaking & preaching; but the New System should be entirely founded on practice, and only be explained and advocated by a statement of its practices & a reference to their effects.—In the evening I received a letter of introduction to Mr. Jefferson from Mr. Law.

Sunday 4th.
Decr.

In the morning we called at the Patent office on Mr. Elliot and went with him to the offices of the Washington newspapers which are three in number, published daily except Sundays. The National Intelligencer; Editor Mr. Gales (rather opposed to the present President) and the National Journal, Editor Mr. Forse (considered the ministerial Paper) both morning Papers, and the Washington Gazette Mr. Elliot, published every afternoon. The Editors

Monday 5th
Decr.

promised to insert articles relative to the Model having been presented to the President. We then called on Pishey Thompson Bookseller, a great friend to Mr. Owen's system, agent for [*] the Harmony Gazette. We purchased a Washington guide, & Jefferson's Notes on Virginia—Between 12 & 1, we went in a stage about a mile down to the steam boat on the Potomak, a short distance below the bridge, on board of which we embarked for the mouth of Potomak creek, which we reached about 8 o'clock in the evening. On the way we passed Fort Washington strongly built on the left bank at a narrow part of the river which it defends, and three miles lower down Mount Vernon, the late residence of Washington & the present abode of Judge Washington. It stands on an elevated bank & has a fine & extensive view of the river. We travelled about 9 miles through a broken country in stages to Fredericksburg, where we arrived at half after 10. The charge, from Washington including dinner & supper, was \$4.75 each. A boy in the stage amused us by singing a negro song, one verse of which ran thus.

My old mistress is dead & gone
And has left her jawbone a ploughing the corn
Wheel about, my Dear,
And turn about *So*,
Wheel about, my dear,
And jump *Jim Crow*.

The singer when he comes to the word *So*, jumps upon his toes, and on his heels at the word *Crow*.

Tuesday 6th. [*]

Tuesday Dec^r.
6th.

At 5 in the morning we set out in the Charlottesville stage a fourhorse spring covered waggon. It carried the New Orleans mail bags. We stopped to breakfast at Wilderness, 16 miles, and not choosing to dine early continued to the end of the day's journey to Bentivoglio, where we arrived about seven in the evening. A Mr. Paris of Staunton, proprietor of part of the line of stages, was our only companion. The weather was remarkably clear, but cold and frosty; The road extremely rough; the carriage very uneasy, and the country covered with wood & thinly settled. The soil in many part was a red earth.

We set out at 4 o'clock in the morning and reached Charlottesville soon after 8. It is situated upon waving land, the west being shut in by the Blue Ridge, a beautiful line of mountains from one to two thousand feet high, and the last being broken by several picturesque hills, on one of which is situated Mr. Jefferson's Place called Monticello. About a mile & a half west of Charlottesville stand the New University of Virginia. The surrounding country is not much settled, and is thickly covered by the forest containing a great variety of trees, which are not of very great size. Between 11 & 12 we took a hack & went up the winding hill of three miles ascent by a bad road [*] to Mr. Jefferson's. The summit of the hill on which his house is built, has been flattened so as to form a circular plateau of about a hundred yards. The house, though not large, is of good dimensions and its architecture clasical. In the hall & rooms are several interesting busts & paintings. Among the busts of American patriots we remarked those of Franklin, Madison, Adams & Genl. Jackson; and of conspicuous foreigners, those of Napoleon, & La Fayette. Mr. Jefferson is very tall & thin though muscular. He has a lively eye and expressive countenance, though none of his features are of a large & bold character. He has been of late unwell & looked pale and a little debilitated; but bears many marks of having been handsome as a youth. Although he is above 83, no apparent decay of intellect was perceptible during our short visit. He conversed with quickness and spirit on general subjects. He displayed great knowledge of architecture and mechanics, while conversing relative to the New University, the designing & building of which has occupied a very great portion of his attention for more than 20 years. His notions are to have primary schools in districts of 6 square miles, secondary ones 10 in number for the whole state, and this University which is near the center, as a [*] finishing school for the scholars who design to study the higher branches. The University will, however, receive students from other states, if there be vacancies. We remained to dine, & staying till dark, he would not allow us to descend the hill in the dark, the road being dangerous at night. We met at dinner & in the evening, his daughter

Wednesday
Decr. 7th.

Mrs. Randolph (Mr. Randolph was from home,) and several of her sons & daughters, some of them grown up. One of her daughters is married to Mr. Triste. They were staying in the house. Another daughter is married to a Mr. Coledge of Boston.

Thursday Decr.
8th.

Before breakfast I walked out round the house, & admired the beautiful and extensive view below me. To the east, the rising sun, with a sea of forest, every here & there a smoke of a settlement floating like a cloud over the trees, and to the west the beautiful Blue ridge inclosing the broad vale of waving lands, in which the two principle objects are Charlottesville & the New University. This is a delightful residence during the greater part of the year; but in the months of Jan'y. Feb. & March, the frost, rains & high winds, render it extremely disagreeable.

Mr. Jefferson gave us a note to Mr. Brockenburgh the Proctor of the University, & after breakfast we drove there. This gentleman walked through the [*] buildings, and shewed us the improved method of covering buildings with flat wooden roofs, & with tin roofs. The several buildings exhibit examples of the various orders of architecture, and form a striking scene. We purchased plans of the buildings, and explanatory pamphlets of the nature of the Institution. Five of the Professors are from England, one is a son [of] Professor Bonycastle of Woolwich. The Medical Professor Dunglisson, stated that facts had in numerous instances proved that the miasmata which occasions so much sickness in hot climates does not rise very high, & that persons inhabiting the ground floor of a building have often been very sickly while those on the first floor enjoyed good health.

We returned to the Inn about 3 o'clock and in the course of the evening had a long conversation with a Mr. Slaughter staying in the house. The name of the Landlord is G. Garnett.

Friday 9th.
Decr.

Soon after 9 in the morning we left Charlottesville in the mail stage for Staunton, on our way to see the Natural Bridge. The country through which we passed was hilly, & woody, and every here & there a small settlement. The road was [*] very broken, & we made only from 4 to 5 miles an hour. In the afternoon we crossed the Blue ridge and

(Friday 9th.
Decr contd)

had an extensive view of the valleys on both sides, but at this season & the woody state of the country, the prospect was not remarkably interesting. The land is not very rich, nor the timber large or of a fine appearance.—Two of the students from the College were passengers with us, going home for the winter vacation, which is the only one. We read the President's message in the Richmond Enquirer, which violently attacked it. The students seemed to have the same feeling, which made us conclude that the spirit of party in the Virginia University was opposed to the existing government. We reached Staunton soon after 7 in the evening, when finding that our funds were small & that we could not obtain credit conveniently as we were strangers, we determined to give up at present visiting the Natural Bridge, & return by the way of Harper's Ferry.—The Natural Bridge is described as a very picturesque rock forming an arched bridge across a deep [*] ravine, between 2 & 300 feet deep, through which a creek passes. Mr. Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia describes it as a most striking scene. He told us that Mr. Liston, when minister in this country, said that the Falls of Niagara and the Natural Bridge were the two most remarkable and beautiful natural curiosities in North America.

At 2 o'clock this morning we set out in the mail stage for Winchester, paying 6\$ each. The night was clear and there was a hard frost. We travelled slowly and were much jolted, though the road was better than [*sic*] the Charlottesville road. We breakfasted at Harrisonburg. The[re] we saw one of the society of Dunkers. He wore a long beard, but in other respects appeared like an American. On asking the landlord some questions concerning that sect, he said that it resembled as far as he knew the Society of Quakers, that a good many Dunkers lived in the town and neighbourhood, but not in a distinct society, that they were decent, industrious & inoffensive [*] citizens. We reached Woodstock where we supped & put up for the night, about 1/2 past 6. This road lies through a rich vale between the Blue Ridge & one of the ridges of the Alleghanies. It is well settled & in many parts tolerably improved. The mail stage from Baltimore to New Orleans passes through this

Saturday 10th.

vale. It has been running for above 20 years, while that from Fredericksburg which meets it at Staunton has only been established two years. At present the inhabitants living along these two lines of communication, are looking out anxiously for the decision of the government Commissioners whether the National road shall pass by Winchester or Charlottesville: if through the latter place, the road by Winchester will be immediately improved in order to keep pace with the new one. We this evening fell in with a gentleman we had met in the Baltimore steamboat. He said that he was going into the Arkansaw country, and as he learnt that the rivers were too low for steam boats, he had determined to take the stage rout through Nashville. We conversed [*] about Mr. Owen, when he said that it was his intention to return up the rivers, and to visit New Harmony on his way. He had seen New Lanark, and related to us some absurd stories which he had heard of the arrangements made in that Establishment, such as turning the work people away, removing bad families into a street in the village called Botany Bay, & rewarding & punishing the children in the school. At parting he gave us his Name (Beveridge) and hoped on his return to see us in Baltimore, should we ever pass through that city. We conjectured him to be a Fur trader, as he talked of his having Indian chiefs as friends.

Sunday 11th.

We left Woodstock about 3 this morning, breakfasted at Middleton, passed through Winchester, a neat town, and reached Harper's Ferry about 7 in the evening. The fare from Winchester 2.50. Harper's ferry is at the junction of the Shenandoah with the Potomac. Here these rivers run between steep and rugged ridges 700 or 800 feet high, which are clothed with timber. [*] This place is encreasing in consequence of the United States manufactory of Arms being established here. We went through Mr. Hall's manufactory of Patent rifles:—a monopoly of this Patent has been secured by the government, and Mr. Hall is employed to carry on the business. He very politely explained the process to us and allowed us to fire one of the rifles. The chamber in which the charge is placed, is raised by a spring and the charge is put in without the use of a ramrod. By this method

(Sunday 11th.
Decr. cont'd)

Monday 12th.

the piece can be loaded two or three times faster at least than the common musket. We saw a good sawmill, and inspected the apparatus employed in boring for the depth of some hundred feet through rock in search of water. We had a long conversation with Major Stephenson, who keeps the tavern, Mr. Alexander the government storekeeper, and a Mr. Thomas, relative to Mr. Owen's Plan. They appeared much interested relative to his proceedings.—During our journey we found our breakfast generally to cost 37 1/2 cents each [*] our dinner 50 cents, and our bed & supper 75 cents each.—We engaged a hack with two horses to carry us by tomorrow evening to Washington for 20\$, including the ferries, tolls, & expenses of driver & horses on the road. We set out about one oclock, crossed the ferry over the Shenandoah, and proceeded for a mile on the right bank of the Potomak; then crossed the ridge to the right, and reached Leedsburg about 7 in the evening distant, 24 miles. [Leedsburg is a neat small town, & the inn very comfortable, speaking comparatively.] The day had been cold & cloudy. In the afternoon it snowed a little.

We rose about 1/2 past 6, and started at 7 o'clock. The morning was very bright, but a hard frost & brisk breeze made it very cold. The country was more open and settled than that which we had passed through. We stopped at an inn by the roadside (Mr. Drane's) to breakfast, and thence descended over a hilly [*] country to the chain bridge which has been 27 years built over the Potomak, 3 miles above George town. [Two chains pass over peirs on both sides, & forming semicircular curves, support each end of the beams at the center of the bridge. The construction is simple, good, and looks very well.] The river was very low at this time. The channel under the bridge appeared about 20 yards wide. Five miles above this bridge are the Potomak falls, which are between 100 & 200 feet high. We should have visited them had it been a proper season, & the river full of water. We passed through George town & reached Brown's hotel in Pennsylvania Avenue Washington, about 1/2 past five. [I met in the coffee room young Thurston, who had returned from Harmony. He talked of going back.] We found two notes from Mr. & Mrs. Adams

Tuesday 13th.
Decr.

inviting us to dinner this day at five. We regretted we had just arrived too late. The distance from Leedsburg, is about 35 miles.

Wednesday 14th.
Dec^r.

This morning we went to the Patent office, & thence to Dr. Thornton's, where we saw his wife & her mother. We then called on the President, & sat half an hour with his lady. On our return I purchased a pocket Spanish dictionary, & two small [*] Spanish books. We called and saw Mr. Law who lent us 'The Precepts of Jesus' by Rammohun Roy, to read. We intended to go this evening to the Lady President's Drawing room, but not expecting to meet persons of our acquaintance, we remained at home.

Thursday 15th.
Dec^r.

We breakfasted with Mr. Elliot, called and saw Mr. Hatfield the architect, & Mr. Hutton the stationer, who made a model for Mr. Owen when he was here last winter, went to George town & saw Mr. Milligan & Mr. Laird from whom we learnt that Mr. Bell who proposed to go to Harmony to manage the farms was not a very experienced or steady person. We dined at Mr. Elliot's where we met a Mr. Gardner, & saw an observation of the moon's passage across the Meridian. We drank tea at Mr. Little's, where we were introduced to his wife [*] and two daughters. He is the Unitarian minister. He left England several years ago. I this day drew on Samuel Spackman Church All[e]y North Third Street Philadelphia, for \$250, through the U. S. Bank, and this evening wrote to give him notice thereof.

(Thursday 15th.
Dec^r cont^d.)

Friday 16th.
Dec^r.

We called this morning on Mr. Test a member for Indiana. We afterwards went to the Capitol, where he heard some debating in the Chamber of Representatives. We called at Queen's Hotel where we saw Mr. Jennings & Mr. Boon, both members for Indiana. We also called on General Noble Senator for the same state, and left our cards for Governor Hendricks, the other senator, there being 2 senators & 3 representatives for Indiana. We dined at Dr. Thornton's where we met a Mrs. Smith & a Mr. Talbot. The Doctor entertained us with his metaphysical system of religion. In the evening I saw & [*] conversed with Mr. Quin, who had returned here from Harmony which he left on the 15th. Nov^r. His description of the

state of things there was very favorable. He goes back again in a few days.

We called on Mr. G. R. Bakewell an inventor of an improved Brick kiln; he shewed us his model & took us to see one which he had constructed. It appears to be contrived on the principle of kilns for burning pottery. We called on Mr. Little and afterwards dined with Mr. Gardner. In the evening we went to the Columbian Institute in a room in the Capitol. Mr. Law read a paper on Paper Currency. There were from 10 to 20 persons present. At night we called & sat for an hour with Mr. Elliot's brother who is Editor of the Washington Gazette.—As Spanish, next to English, is the most important language in the New World, I have purchased two or three Spanish books [*] and borrowed others from Mr. Elliot, & occasionally study that language.

Saturday 17th.

This morning Mr. Elliot gave me some Spanish books. At eleven we went to the Hall of Representatives & heard a sermon by Dr. Stoughton. The President was there, several members, & some of the Ladies and gentlemen of the city. The Hall is an extremely bad room to speak in. The ladies did not appear well. While we were out General Noble, Governor Hendricks & Mr. Jennings called on us. We spent the afternoon with Mr. Elliot.

Sunday 18th.
Decr.

This morning I called on Mr. Law. We afterwards saw General Noble, Governor Hendricks, Mr. Jennings & Mr. Boon, and fixed to meet them at 10 o'clock on Wednesday morning and go to the President's house to see the model. General Noble shewed us the Senate chamber, and introduced us to some of the members. Among the number were General Harrison & Mr. Calhoun. The latter is tall & spare. He has a very intelligent & quick expression of countenance & a good manner. He remarked that he felt great interest in Mr. Owen's proceedings & thought that there were now at work in the world some active principles which gave assurance of important improvements in society being very near at hand. We walked through various apartments of the Capitol, but observed that the interior of the building was very much wasted in passages. In one room we saw [*] two paintings, by Turnbull, intended to be placed in the large Rotunda; one represents the surrender

Monday 19th.
Decr.

of General Burgoyne & his Army; the other has Washington in the foreground presenting a paper to several distinguished characters of the Revolution. These paintings are well executed. I received a letter from Samuel Spackman acknowledging the receipt of mine, & notifying his having placed the sum specified to my credit in the U. S. Bank.

We spent the evening at Mr. Little's in company with Mr. Elliot. We met there a Miss Webster. We had a long conversation relative to the 'New Views.' Mr. Elliot contended in favor of the freedom of man.—At night I wrote letters.—

Tuesday 20th.
Dec^r.

[The weather was fine and temperate.] This morning I called on Mr. Test. Mr. Bakewell called & left a letter for Mr. Owen relative to his new Brick kiln. Mr. Bell called and said he should write to the committee relative to his joining at Harmony. I spent the rest of the day writing letters.

Wednesday 21st.
Dec^r.

At 10 o'clock we went according to appointment with the members of Indiana, the 2 senators General Noble & Governor Hendricks, & the 3 representatives Messrs. Test, Boon & Jennings, to see the model at the President's house. He was out. Mr. Whitwell explained it, after which we parted, & went to the annual meeting of the Columbian College, where we heard some addresses delivered by students. At two o'clock we called and took leave of the President. [*] He was very friendly in manner. Speaking of the model he remarked that the plan seemed well designed for a university. We called and took leave of Mr^s. Thornton. The evening was spent with Mr. Elliot & Mr. Hatfield. Mr. Whitwell was designing an almanack for New Harmony.

(Wednesday 21st.
Dec^r. cont'd)

Thursday 22nd.
Dec^r.

We breakfasted with Mr. Elliot. I afterwards called on the Indiana members, and spent the rest of the day writing letters. At night Mr. Elliot & Dr. Curtin were with us. We packed up a rain gauge & some barometer glasses for Harmony.

Friday 23rd.

A little after midnight there was a cry of fire, which upon opening the window, we found to be that the roof of the library in the Capitol was on fire. We heard that it had been communicated by a flue, & that people were busy removing the books. We started at 2 o'clock in the Frederick town mail stage leaving it burning. [Fare to Frederick 45 miles is 4\$ & thence to Hagerstown 28, \$2 1/2.] We reached

Frederick town to dinner between one & two o'clock; & thence to Hagerstown where we arrived at 8 o'clock.

We started at 2 o'clock in the morning & reached Cumberland at 1/2 past 6 at night Fare 5 1/2\$ [Distance 60 miles] Saturday 24th.

We set out from Cumberland [*] at 1/2 past 4 & reached Griffin's Hotel at 9 at night. Sunday 25

We set out at 7 and reached Washington at 9 at night. The Distance from Cumberland to Washington is 100 miles, and the fare 6\$. We travelled part of the way in a coach, and a part in a spring covered mail waggon. Monday 26th. Dec^r.

We left Washington at 9 and reached Pittsburg at 5 in the evening. Distance 25 miles, fare 2 1/2\$. The road is very bad & hilly. The weather was frosty during our journey, except Sunday 25th when we had some rain among the hills. We found that the river had been for weeks frozen up; that Mr. Owen's party had purchased a keelboat, in which they had descended the river 20 miles to near the mouth of Beaver Creek where they were frozen up; and that he had gone on by himself in the Cincinnati stage. Tuesday 27th.

We saw Mr. Bakewell and drank tea at his house. We also saw Mr. Sutton, & called on [*] Mr. Baldwin. We walked over the wooden bridge over the Alleghany river, & examined its construction, & likewise went through the New Penitentiary building near the city. It is a costly building, and on a plan to cage up the prisoners like wild beasts. Wednesday 28th.

This was a frosty and snowy day, which we passed indoors. In the evening Mr. Sutton & Mr. Stewart called upon us.—A few days ago the Alleghany river rose, the ice broke & came down into the Ohio, but not being able to break the ice in this river, the ice of the Alleghany was driven some distance up the Monongahela river, forming a confused mass, parts standing up in wedges, and other parts laying one over the other. Fears have been entertained for the Monongehela bridge & the boats on the river side, should that river suddenly open. [*] Thursday 29th.

This morning was rainy, the weather having changed & the wind come round to the south. We went to some book stores to seek a few books. I asked for Spanish works, but could not find any. We spent the evening with Mr. Sutton, where we met Mr. Stewart, Mr. Richardson & Mr. Armstrong. Friday 30th. Dec^r.

Mr. Sutton gave us some of his genuine Tuscaloosa, a liquor distilled from Wheat & Rye. These gentlemen spoke favorably of Mr. Owen's Plan. Mr. Owen had a public meeting while in Pittsburg.

Saturday 31st.
Dec^r.

We rose at 4 o'clock, paid our bill amounting to 12\$ including fare of stage to Economy, 75 cents each, and set out in the stage at 5 o'clock. The stage was a small covered spring waggon, but they contrived to cram 10 inside. The road runs by the side of the Ohio under some steep hills and so narrow that some parts of it are called the Narrows. At one place we met two waggons, and had to get out, unfasten the horses [*] and back the waggon into a corner to let them pass. Just after this we were overtaken by two horsemen one had fallen over the bank a short distance behind, but had fortunately escaped with a few slight bruises. We all stopped 15 miles along the road at Jackson's Inn, a poor place, to breakfast at 9 o'clock. Just after breakfast when we were moving off from the inn, the waggon slipped off the bank on the side of the road & sliding down about 10 feet upset. Though the top was much smashed no limbs were broken. A good many of the party were bruised and among the number Mr. Whitwell, who had his foot a good deal hurt. During breakfast we had been joking with the gentleman who had fallen from his horse. He proved to be an Irish Doctor residing near Beaver. He came running out to offer his services, and now in his turn made a few jocose remarks upon our disaster.—The Waggon having been raised up, and tolerably ordered, [*] we again proceeded, & reached Economy about 11 o'clock. Mr. Rapp received us politely. We dined & supped with him, walked with Mr. Frederick Rapp to look at their work, and at night went to hear their band, composed of 14 players.—The Economites have been very industrious, since I was here in June. They have nearly completed a large brick Factory, a steam mill, & a house for Mr. Rapp, besides other improvements.

Sunday 1st.
Jan^y. 1826

This day was stormy, freezing & snowing. Mr. Whitwell went in the afternoon to the Economite house of worship.

Monday 2nd.
Jan^y.

Frost & snow. I called and saw several of my old acquaintances. A Traveller informed us that about 7 o'clock the preceding evening the ice broke up at Pittsburg. I

saw great quantities of ice passing down the river. We have no tidings of Mr. Owen's party in the keel boat below [*] Beaver, but conjecture that they have gone on, as the river has been open here & below this place for four days.—The stage (which passes every other day,) did not pass today, its regular day, but the mail bag was forwarded on a sleigh. We hope that a steam boat may leave Pittsburg tomorrow & take us up as it passes, the river having risen two feet.—Among the numerous vague reports which we have heard of this society, one is that in the course of the past summer, Mr. Rapp married 40 members; but I have not as yet seen any thing here to warrant my crediting this report.—The neighbours seem to have no very friendly feeling to the society, on account of their close habits & the mystery which hangs over all their proceedings. Another traveller told us that there was a society forming in Portage County, Ohio, on Mr. Owen's Plan.

At Economy. Windy & Frosty.

The steamboats at Pittsburgh have been driven high & dry on the river bank by the force of the ice; leaving us no [*] chance of getting a passage down the river in one of them. This morning at 7 o'clock the Thermometer stood as low as $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, being $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ below freezing. The day was calm & clear, & at 12 o'clock the glass stood at 20° —This afternoon Mr. Smith arrived from the keelboat which he informed us was lying among the ice 7 miles below Beaver. A gentleman also arrived with a Miss Dupalais, (one of Mr. Le Seur's party) going to Harmony. She had been left sick at Pittsburg.

This morning clear & fine. The therm in the course of the night had been as low as 3° above zero. Mr. Fred. Rapp called in the course of the day; also Dr. Müller. I inclosed my letter under cover to Jeremiah Thompson at New York. We learnt from Mr. Smith that Mr. Maclure & Madame Fretageot had gone as far as Steubenville.—

We went in the stage to Beaver, & thence walked 6 miles to where the keel boat lay in the ice.

This day was employed cutting a channel through the ice into the channel of the river, which was open. On board the boat we found all the Party going from Philadelphia

Tuesday & Wednesday 3rd. & 4th.
Jany.

Thursday 5th.

Friday 6th.

Saturday 7th.

Sunday 8th.
Jany.

(Sunday 8th.
Jan^y. contd)

to Harmony, except Mr. Owen and Mrs. Fisher who had gone back [*] to Pittsburg, and thence taken the mail stage to Wheeling, and Mr. Maclure & Mrs. Fretageot who had gone down in a wagon to Steubenville. The keelboat was divided into 4 apartments, one occupied by 6 boatmen & their Captain, the other three by the travellers. The boat was called the Philanthropist, and the ladies cabin Paradise. The names of the company were as follows, Robert Dale Owen, Dr. & Mrs. Price & 3 children, Miss Sistair & two sisters, Mr. Dupalais & his sister, Miss Turner, Mr. Le Seur & one child, Mr. Piquepal & 10 boys, Mr. Smith, Mr. Say, and a carpenter of the name of Beal & his wife & child, the latter assisting the ladies in arranging the interior economy & cooking. Mr. Say kept the accounts and had the government of the boat. The Party had been three weeks shut up in an eddy in the ice. They amused themselves during this period, hunting and examining the country. Some birds, a brown fox & a few fish had been taken and stuffed by the naturalists & scholars for the museum at Harmony, & the mean time hung up in the cabin.

The next day (Monday) we pushed out at day light into the center of the stream where the river was free of ice, and assisting [*] the boatmen at the sweeps we went down the river at the rate of 5 miles an hour. The banks were hilly, rocky & woody. A little before dark we reached Steubenville, where a Judge came on board with his son a boy of 10 years of age, whom he wished to be taken to the Pestalozzian school at Harmony. He informed us that Mr. Maclure & Me. Fretageot had gone on to Wheeling. I landed with him went to his house, & received in name of the Society 25\$ being a quarter in advance for his son's education. Steubenville is a small thriving town on the river side. I was told that many of the mechanics there were trying to establish a community. During the night we floated down the stream at the rate of two miles an hour. Early in the morning (at day break) the sweeps were again in motion, & we reached Wheeling about 9 o'clock. There Mr. Maclure & Me. F. came on board. Mr. Owen had set off a fortnight before in the mail stage with Mrs. Fisher, leaving a note for me & some baggage

to be put on board our boat. Our accommodation on board was extremely good considering & things well arranged. [*] The exercise of rowing was agreeable, and we had frequent opportunities of landing with a skiff which we towed after the keelboat. We found the river banks studded with log cabins, frame houses & some brick buildings. We were well supplied with milk & eggs, and sometimes got fruit & poultry. The hunters killed some birds, which in an evening afforded both instruction & amusement during the process of stuffing them. The weather though frosty, was clear & healthy. Our evenings were pleasantly passed in reading & conversation. Two good stoves served well for the double purpose of warming the cabins, & furnishing us with a full supply of warm food & fresh bread. Once or twice when the weather was mild & the moon up, we sat upon the top or deck, and had some music. One evening, the wind blowing strong up the stream and our boat being too light to float down the current, we made the bank, and visited a large farm. It being about sunset & supper time, we invited three lively females on board, who were so pleased with our party that I almost think they might have been [*] induced to join our fortunes. The old lady, their mother, said she could not spare them all & so suddenly, but talked of a summer excursion to see how we got on at Harmony.

Thus we continued moving down the river in high health & spirits for 9 days, when we reached Cincinnati, 600 miles below Pittsburg [(in the evening)]. In the course of the last day quantities of floating ice overtook us with a rapid rise of the river, the ice having broken up with late rains in the north; and it required our united labours at the sweeps to make the bank of the river, and avoid being carried by its force past Cincinnati. Robert Dale Owen landed with me, & called on Mr. Green, his father's agent, from whom we learnt that Mr. Owen had left that place 10 days before in a steamboat with Mrs. Fisher. He had been 60 miles up the country at the Yellow Springs community on the forks of the Miami river, which had partly suspended its operations in consequence of a want of funds. The next day the Party divided and visited their several friends, walked about [*] the town, saw the curiosities, made little purchases,

& laid in stock. In the evening Mr. Symmes, the author of a new theory on the shape of the Earth, who resides in Cincinnati, met Mr. Maclure & some of the Party at the City Hotel, & occupied them for an hour with his theory. I was prevented by engagements being present more than a quarter of an hour, during which time I could not get any satisfactory information, as his remarks were desultory and common place, & delivered in a faltering manner without clearness or connection. He had in his hand a small ball, either of clay or wood, hollowed in one part like a tea cup, to represent the concavity of the Earth at its Poles.

Early in the morning, the ice having for the most part past us, we got out into the stream, and in the evening of the following day reached the bank of the river just above Louisville (150 miles below Cincinnati) and opposite to Jeffersonville. We landed for a short time, when Mr. Maclure met Mr. Neef the Pestalozzian teacher. We called on the Harmony agent from whom we learnt [*] that Mr. Owen was at Harmony. Mr. Neef told Mr. Maclure that he was arranging to sell his farm & remove to Harmony in the spring. He came on board the keelboat with his daughter, a fine young woman to visit the ladies.

Our captain having secured a Pilot overnight, we started at daylight, & lending all hands to the sweeps, crossed the Falls in fine style. There was just enough water to make the descent safe. The full distance falls short of two miles. At one part a ridge of rocks crosses the stream. Here the current becomes very rapid & rough & makes two sharp turns. The use of the sweeps is to assist the steering. Twice the Pilot called to the sweeps to stop, at part of the descent where the motion & boiling up of the water would have driven them out of their proper direction. Below the falls the river reassumes its quiet state. We stopped to land the Pilot at Shipping port, thence continued as usual. At night a steamboat was heard behind us (the first that overtook us in the course of our [*] voyage down) and it was determined to send Mr. Smith forward to Harmony for waggons to be at Mount Vernon on Sunday the 22nd. Accordingly Mr. Smith was put on board the steamboat as it passed from our skiff.

In consequence of a strong wind up stream we did not

reach Mount vernon till 11 A. M. on Monday the 23rd. We there found waggons in waiting. As the weather had again changed to Frost & snow, it was settled that we should remain till the morning and that the ladies, children & some of the gentlemen should go round and up the Wabash in the keelboat. This arrangement was changed in two days, as the river froze up. Young Owen could not rest a moment. He therefore got a horse & rode over the same evening to Harmony.

The next morning, the waggons were loaded as early as possible and half the party started for Harmony. I walked and followed to see that every thing was in its place. The day's journey reminded me of a march with the baggage of a company of soldiers. [*] We were received with many manifestations of joy by the Population, which I found engrossed in the New proceedings which Mr. Owen was explaining to them at evening meetings. The Population was about as numerous as when I left the place in June last, but several had left & new families come into the town; so that I saw almost as many strange as well known faces. I spent the two first days after my arrival visiting my old acquaintance; but afterwards I became busily occupied as a member of a committee chosen to draw up a constitution for a community to be formed out of the Preliminary society. The debates in this committee & in the society meetings, occupied about three weeks; after which a small society of American Backwoodsmen separated from the rest, & next a large one of English Emigrants. These engaged for lands belonging to Mr. Owen. The remainder then had a misunderstanding. The most steady & decent portion formed themselves into a third society, and objected to [*] join in a community with the residue, but offered to admit probationary members, which proposition was considered offensive.

[When the weather moderated, the keelboat came round & up the Wabash, having called at Shawneetown to take on board the heavy baggage which had been sent round from New York by sea to New Orleans, & which we got five weeks after our arrival. The vessel made a passage of 15 days to N. Orleans.] I left Harmony on the 4th. March, at which time a proposition was under

discussion to request Mr. Owen to become sole manager for some time taking both parties under his guidance as probationers to his New System, till he should consider them sufficiently well habituated in it to govern themselves.

I have since learnt by a Charleston paper that the Harmony Gazette of the 22nd. March states the society to have given up idle talking, & to be now busily engaged each at his proper calling.

As I had promised to take Charleston in my way back to England, my plan of proceeding was to go by a steamboat to New Orleans, & thence by sea round Florida to Charleston.

On the 4th. March I got a two horse waggon and crossed to Mount Vernon.

Monday night at 10 o'clock [*] I got on board the Columbia steam boat, commanded by Major Miller, and reached New Orleans on the 13th. (tuesday)

The Columbia is a large new steamboat handsomely & conveniently fitted up, with the ladies cabin below. The Captain an active & accommodating man. I found a few gentlemen & one lady on board from Louisville. Most of the gentlemen were Kentuckians. They were very fond of playing at cards & backgammon & drinking spirits and water, which custom I found myself obliged to adopt while in their company. Another boat (the Paragon) reputed the fastest boat on the river, left Louisville the day before the Columbia, which passed her while taking in Cargo at Henderson. The whole of the voyage down the Mississippi, the great object of our Captain was to keep ahead of her and reach New Orleans first. He therefore was constantly forward urging on the firemen, who are in this country negroes, to keep the furnaces well supplied. The rivers, as the [*] northern snows were now melting & heavy rains falling around us, were rapidly rising & bringing in their floods great quantities of drift wood. Immense misshapen logs and trees were overtaken by us in large shoals and in the eddies, and in the night time the wheels lost their paddles which would be splintered to pieces by coming in contact with them. The Pilot at the helm wheel was in the habit of ringing a small bell to stop the wheels whenever he could not avoid these drifts. Snags, sawyers and planters,

1826
March 4th
Saturday

appellations given to trees & logs aground in the channel of the river, were often seen, but as the river was high and their situations generally known, no alarm was felt at them.—The banks of the river with few exceptions were flat, & thickly covered with tall timber. As we proceeded down the Ohio, some rocky hills & ridges little exceeding 100 feet in elevation appeared here & there on the right [*] in the state of Illinois. On them I remarked the cabins of poor settlers, who probably sought the triple advantage of rising land, a little society by river navigation, and a market for cord wood for the steamboats. A cord is 8 ft. long & 4 ft. high & wide. Down the Ohio, except in the immediate vicinity of large towns the price for black & white oak is from 2 to 3\$ a cord. On the Kentucky side nothing was seen for many miles before we reached the Mississippi but a tall thick forest in a low swamp; the timber consisting for the most part of Cotton, Peccan, Hiccory, black red & white oak, vine and walnut trees. The mouth of the Ohio is hidden by an island, so that the supposed striking appearance of the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi river is thus intercepted; and as the land is flat & the trees lofty, the eye does not perceive at first any great increase of water. The first striking indication of our being in a larger stream, was the change in the colour of the water which gradually mingled itself [*] with the blacker water of the Ohio, till the whole river became lime water. Here I could not help gazing with some little degree of novel feeling at the scene. A smooth expanse of water, to all appearance a lake full of Islands, and encompassed by a wild forest luxuriantly growing in an immense marsh, through which I was rapidly passing in an elegant vessel and enjoying the most comfortable accommodations. We occasionally passed keel & flat boats floating on the water, & deeply laden with corn, potatoes or cattle for the Orleans Market. Six or eight tall bony & sunburnt men would be sitting on their tops lounging away the five to eight weeks voyage they were upon. The mouth of the Ohio is somewhere about 400 miles below Louisville. I had left, the southern corner of Indiana two days before, under the influence of a cold & wet spring, its forests bare & its lands black. I now beheld

bright sprouting leaves on all the young trees smiling beneath the yet sappy [*] heads of their tall parents. The lively green of the cane breaks which covered the banks on both sides served as an additional relief to the scene. Here & there some hardy woods man had cleared a small space & built a log cabin on some spot which only the highest waters would cover; contenting himself with having the river open to him, and a plentiful supply without labour from his cows which feed upon the cane at all seasons of the year. But even these hardy beings rarely escape the effects of the marshy atmosphere, their faces & skins denoting that they frequently suffer from ague & fever. Mosquitoes abound in these situations, & even disturb the native woodsman with their numbers and powerful sting.

At the mouth of the Cumberland river, the Columbia stopped for 6 hours to take in 200 & odd bales of cotton, each bale being 8 or 9 ft. long, 6 or 8 ft. round & containing from 3 to 400 lbs of cotton. This freight was stowed away below, above & on both sides of the steamboat. The settlement at the mouth [*] of the river bore a lively & thriving appearance, a few low hills gently rising at a short distance in the rear, and being partly cleared and looking green with the young corn shoots. While we lay at this place a fine & fast steam boat, called the General Jackson came down the Cumberland, and the Paragon passed before us. [It is the fashion to name the steamboats after the most distinguished men.] We met several boats going up the stream, all deeply laden & full of passengers.

From this place to Memphis a neat settlement on the Chicasaw bluffs (sandy ridges which terminate in high falling banks on the left bank of the river) we saw nothing but a flat forest, some feet lower, as you advance a few hundred yards from the river which gradually heightens its banks by the annual deposits of its inundations.—[It is at this place that an experiment has lately been commenced to lead to the gradual emancipation of the negroes. Land has been purchased & a village is forming. Slaves are purchased who are to work together with a common stock. The profits of their industry to be employed to purchase their freedom. It is said that La Fayette has subscribed

10000\$ to the fund, & that Miss Wright & Mr. George Flower are both contributors and managers.—As this settlement is made in a slave state, the surrounding proprietors are said to be very jealous of its interests, & throw obstacles in the way of its progress. Besides all the white population have so thorough a contempt & mean opinion of a coloured person, that it is doubtful whether their feelings may not operate to defeat a practical step towards emancipation.] At the mouth of White river on the right bank, we stopped to take on wood & land a passenger. Here there is a small settlement of two or three families. I entered into conversation with one man who told me he was born in Georgia, raised in Tennessee, had lived where he was two years, & intended in another year to go west into the red river country. He had a wife, or a woman [*] that acted as such, (for in these countries changes & exchanges are easily made) and a heap of young children.

In many conversations that I had I found the tide of emigration, was generally from the southern & eastern states, first to the banks of the Ohio or Mississippi, then into Illinois, Indiana, or Ohio state, and thence again west up the Arkansaw or Missouri, or into the red river country. The steam navigation, & the trade for the raw materials for manufacturing, ensure the migrating woodsman a supply of cash & the boundless & fertile soil around him & the domestic labour of his family, secure to him a full supply of all which the rude habits of his life give him a desire for. Whiskey & tobacco are cheap, and powder & lead easily procured. He therefore freely indulges in these great stimuli, chewing & drinking at all hours, and rarely passing a day without his gun in his hand. They have little or no moral feeling in the composition of their [*] character, and if we except their fear of the law, and their attachment to the American Constitution, which they belief (without understanding) to be the safeguard of their freedom, I should suppose their minds were under no influence but that of their appetites.

The river winds continually in every direction down this immense vale which is more or less subject to its inundations in the months of April, May & June, from two to 300 miles

in breadth, particularly on its western side where there are extensive lakes. In some places among the Islands and at the bends of the river its breadth is more than a mile, occasionally nearly two miles. The banks being of the finest & softest soil is continually crumbling down, spreading out in tongues on one side & rounding away in hollow places on the other. Large trees are seen with their heads above the water, denoting their late fall; others with their bare roots tottering and awaiting their inevitable fate; while tall & slender shrubberies [*] are every where rapidly arising to shade and fortify the newly formed shores of this inland ocean.

In one part we passed what the boatman called the new cut off where the river, after a process of wearing the bank away into a deep elbow forced its way across the isthmus into its next bend, shortening its course by a distance of 18 miles and forming another large Island in the midst of its waters.—At sunset a thick vapour rises & floats over the surface of the river, frequently obliging the boats to lay too during the night.

The gentlemen on board passed their time at cards & backgammon, and frequently had disputes about the game. One day they abused one another violently, and two of them struck & threw chairs at one another. This dispute however was amicably settled, & tranquility resulted from it during the remainder of the voyage. I got on the best terms with them; so much so that they hoped we should hereafter meet again, and two [*] who left us at Natches, and followed to New Orleans in two or three days, met me there at the Hotel like old friends. This was a pleasant circumstance to a stranger, and I judge from it that a traveller among the western people, particularly the Kentuckians, should he be a man of education but liberal & accommodating in his habits & opinions, will have daily reason to say that they are extremely hospitable. But they have their passions & their prejudices & bad habits. The first they are accustomed to indulge, the second they are less sensible of than a traveller, and they have are privileged at home in the gratification of the third.

It was my custom to seat myself on a bale of cotton on the top near the pilot, and enjoy the current of air, & the unusual

scenery around me. We rapidly got into a warmer atmosphere, under a clearer sky and amidst greener forests; but a dead flatness spread in all directions. The variety however was considerable. At one time the [*] shades among the trees caught the eye; at another the immense drifts of wood led the mind to speculate upon the growth & decay of vegetable matter, & the great quantities of timber thus annually sent into the Mexican gulf; at a third the attention was directed to a steamboat approaching, or some solitary flat boats which we were rapidly overtaking and passing by.

Natches is the last place on the river bank which we passed, & which stands elevated above the dead level. The bank is about 100 ft. high, and apparently entirely of sand. The town stands on an extensive flat, and contains a large population. Down by the water side are a miserable collection of wooden houses in which the boatmen reside. There it is that a degraded state of morals is to be found. From the top of the bank the eye has nothing to look at but the winding river and the tops of the trees.

As our stop was short I had not time to see the town, which I am told [*] contains many agreeable inhabitants and good buildings. The negroes & quadroons (or mixed race) were very numerous on the bank. I there fell in with two—carpenter and Tanner who had left Harmony. They told me business was brisk, and the carpenters intended making some money to carry them to New Orleans, & perhaps to visit Scotland & some parts of the Old Country.

I learnt that one of my fellow voyagers was a member of the Kentucky legislature, another the son of a landed proprietor, one a young lawyer going to look out for business in Florida, another, a Virginian from the back parts going to settle there, & another a lawyer (who had been a play-actor), going to Pensacola. The gentleman we landed at White river was going some distance up that river; he was a young doctor.

When least expected settlements spring up, and west of the Mississippi and in the Missouri, there are more white settlers (already there & annually removing there) than in Europe they have any conception of. [*]

Below Natches the river banks on both sides are

more thickly settled. As they are more elevated & only covered by the highest waters much more land is in cultivation, and although compared with the extent of country the river winds through the part cleared is but trifling, yet lying on the edge of the water, it serves to vary the scene and gives a slight idea of the richness of the land.

As we advanced the habitations became more numerous, we overtook more boats, the trees looked greener, the corn crops farther advanced, the slaves out in the fields preparing the ground for cotton & sugar. Levees or embankments from 3 to 5 & 6 feet high & as many thick extended on both sides the river. For the last 100 miles before we reached New Orleans the line of communication from one farm or plantation to another was scarcely broken, and in many places were well fashioned stone & brick houses and regularly planned rows of buildings for the [*] slaves employed on the sugar plantations. The usual form was a wide street of small brick or painted wooden houses with the overseer's house at one end & the sugar house at the other, extending towards the river, and about the middle of the plantation, and some distance from the proprietor's house which is usually surrounded by a few trees. The plantation is surrounded by rail fences, and in the marsh or swamp behind, tower the thick forests of Cypress trees which are covered with a brownish weed which thickly spread over their misshapen tops giving a dead appearance to them. This weed is called Spanish moss, and is much used for stuffing mattresses, being of a soft & cool nature, and supposed to be very wholesome.

By the laws of the State of Louisiana the lands on the river bank are divided into lots of a certain extent of river bank & extending thence straight into the marsh & woods behind, so that each holder of a lot has his proper portion of [*] embankment or Levee to keep in repair.

The vale of the Mississippi seems to have been formerly entirely flooded at the rainy season or in the early summer months when the northern snows & ice melt. But the river bringing in its troubled waters a great quantity of light soil which as it spread & stagnated over this extensive vale, settled and gradually raised its surface, some seasons

left considerable portions of its banks dry. These were occupied & defended by levees by the first settlers, who gradually encreased in numbers, untill their properties were formed into a connected line of embankment; leaving the river to spread through the woods around them.

The channel of the river is very deep, and the working of the currents & eddies below are marked by the boiling up of the water as it rolls on at the rate of from two to three miles an hour. [*] No scheme has yet been thought of which could oppose the progress of the river in washing in its banks, at its different windings, and as this process is very rapid, and in the neighbourhood of New Orleans a small quantity of great value; rich persons have frequently in a few years lost a great part of their fortune by the river changing its course.

The mouth of the red river is about a quarter of a mile wide, having an island near it; but it is very deep. It is navigable for steam boats a great way. It is from a point high up this river, that the land journey to Mexico is commenced, thus avoiding the marshes which extend to the shores of the Gulf.

We passed several boats floating down with cotton, and some ships which had been towed by steamboats up the river to receive the cotton & sugar from the very bank of the plantation.

We passed many steamboats & small towns, and I felt the sensation of coming out [*] of the retirement of the country into the bustle of a city. The weather became warm, the trees were almost in full leaf, and the Cypress & wild herbs of the forest perfumed the evening breezes.

It was becoming dark when we saw the roofs of houses, the masts of shipping & the long iron flues of numerous steamboats, crowding the side of the Levee.—The Paragon had got in a few hours before, as our paddles had been so broken that we had to stop several times to mend them. The General Jackson came in a few hours after us.

It was too late to quit the boat that evening, therefore after a short walk in the dark through two or three narrow streets, I returned on board for the night.

The following morning after breakfast I landed and took up my lodging at the Planters Hotel (Mr. Elkin) a large house the resort usually of Bachelors. I called and delivered my letter from Mr. Owen to Mr. [MS blank] who was

Tuesday 14th.
March 1826

Mr. Rapp's agent & has now become [*] Mr. Owen's. He & his partner are druggists. He afterwards invited me to tea at his father in law's Dr. Rogers where I dined once & found his wife & daughter amiable women, & himself a very intelligent person. At the Planters' I fell in with Mr. Thomas from New York, who introduced me to a variety of gentlemen; some merchants & others planters from the neighbourhood.—As the house was crowded I was at first put into a small room where there were three more beds, but upon application to the clerk he removed me to another where I had but one companion who proved to be a very respectable gentleman, a judge from Feliciana, a town in the State, & who once stood candidate for the governorship. We became very friendly, and he gave me a pressing invitation to visit him. I learnt that his wife was a very amiable person, & that he had a fine family & resided in a beautiful country.—I likewise met a Philadelphia Friend, and two gentlemen with whom I had crossed the ocean last summer in the Canada. [My fellow travellers on board the Columbia introduced me to their acquaintance.] Thus Every day I had one or more [*] companions to visit the town & neighbourhood with. [It is frequently the practice of the passengers to remain on board the steamboats in which they descend the river, and as the accommodations are good, it is sometimes more convenient to do so, than to land and put up at a crowded hotel.]

The boarding is 2\$ a day. Black or coloured slaves wait upon you, and at Elkin's the female slaves dress so gaudily, that I sometimes fancied a resemblance to an eastern entertainment as I sat at the dinner table. But the house is a very inconvenient one, and the attendance irregular.—The weather was to me extremely oppressive, the ther. ranging from 76° to above 80° with little wind.

The town lies on the left bank of the river, & 5 or 6 feet below the level of the high rises of the river which are about the months of April, May & June.—The Levee which protects the town is covered with shells & small stones and made into a hard terrace, behind which runs a wide road, separated from the first street or row of houses by an open space of a mile in length but only two or three

hundred ft. wide. On this ground stand the custom house, the large stone market houses & some warehouses. During the first half of the year trade is very brisk, the Levee being covered with bales of [*] cotton, casks of sugar & tobacco, coffee & rice, carts driving in every direction with goods, and shipping of all descriptions lying by the river bank. While I remained at New Orleans, there were never less than 12 or 15 steamboats lying there, and several times in the course of the day, the guns of those arriving and departing were heard in every part of the town. Two steam boats are in constant employ towing vessels the sailing vessels in & out of the river, its mouth being 100 miles below the city.

Above the steamboats lye a great number of keel & flat boats & other small craft, which have brought raw materials & provisions of all kinds down the river. The cargoes of some boats are disposed of whole sale, while the tenants of the others are occupied retailing out their goods.

The river at this place is about a mile wide, and extremely deep. Within a few feet of the levee the water is 70 ft. deep, and as it rolls along at the rate of 3 miles an hour, in eddies & boiling up, it is quite muddy [*] and is constantly undermining the part of the bank against which the force of the current strikes. At present the current strikes the right bank of the river a mile above the town, wearing it rapidly away; and thence crossing over runs against the left bank at the lower extremity of the city, which it is gradually forcing in, in spite of the usual attempts to protect the bank. Within a few years the city has become possessed of several acres of valuable land which the river threw up as it receded above the town towards the opposite bank, sweeping away the house & a considerable part of the lands belonging to a widow lady.

Vessels very rarely anchor in the river on account of its depth, which likewise prevents the erection of wharves or quais. Large timbers and planks are substituted, as temporary stages for loading & unloading the vessels. On the opposite bank is the powder magazine, & place where the shipping are repaired. A Columbian Brig of War lay there while I was in New Orleans. [*] As New Orleans was both the

possession of the French & Spaniards before being sold to the United States, the styles of building are very various. Facing the levee, are a square with a Catholic church in it, a large barrack of stone, and the Arsenal inclosed within a stone wall, all built by the Spaniards, and a row of houses, shops below & dwelling rooms above, in the Spanish and Moorish style of architecture. The streets run parallel & at right angles to the river. Only one is paved (Charters street) The rest are of earth, and consequently almost impassable in rainy weather. But every street has its two footways protected from the road by wooden gutters. Since Mr. Jefferson purchased this state from the French, a great many french left it, and as many spaniards as could dispose of their property. Americans seeking their fortunes pushed in, and became active in business. It is remarkable that not a Spaniard or Frenchman has any concern in any of the many steamboats which belong to this city & run on the river; or is, indeed much employed in the active commerce now carrying on.—At first the principal [*] public offices were filled by frenchmen, who made the Americans rather dissatisfied by their lukewarm treatment of all their proposed improvements. This has had the effect of throwing many french out of office. An attempt to get the streets paved, succeeded so far as to have the principal one so done; But as the stones must all be brought by sea from the northern States, it is probable that several years will elapse before all the [others] are paved, or macadamized which many consider a better plan.

The state house is a small old building; much is said of building a new one.

There is a law in this state which renders all marriages between whites and persons of colour or quadroons (as all are called whose blood is in any way proved to be tainted with the negroe race) illegal, and while I was there another was passed, entirely prohibiting the introduction of slaves. This latter law was made in consequence of so many slaves of the most worthless & troublesome character having been brought into the city for sale.

Many of the quadroon [*] families are rich, and the females handsome. As the whites are the lords of the

land, the quadroon females consider it an honor to be connected with them, and as marriage is forbidden, most of them live as the companions of the white men, proving true to them, as long as they are well treated. This is the French fashion, but as the relative proportion of the French & Americans diminishes, it is probable that this demoralizing law will be altered & modified.

Dr. Rogers informed me that July, August, September & October, were the unhealthy months of the year; then cold winds from the north west and a hot sun, produce fevers. At other seasons of the year the city is remarkably healthy. During the hottest season the therm. rarely rises above 94°. December & January are the winter months; but frost & snow are very rarely seen. Seven years ago a severe frost in the months of Jan'y & February, destroyed all the orange & lemon trees in the state. Young trees were immediately afterwards planted, and this spring a few are beginning to bear.—During the unhealthy [*] months many persons leave the city, and every thing is at rest.

The city is rapidly extending with stores & brick houses, (the residences of americans,) up the river bank.

At the back of the city, which lies some feet lower than that part which borders on the river, there extends the marsh & cypress forest intersected by a creek. Into this marsh the waters from the city are drained. A basin has been formed and a canal connecting it with the creek. There is a project for connecting the basin likewise with the river. The creek which runs into Lake Pontchartrain, has a wooden weir & battery at its mouth, to which there is a road from the city. This is the direct communication into the State of Alabama & to the seat of the general government, and is a portion of the course of inland navigation which it is proposed to extend from St. Augustine across the Floridas to the Mississippi. The greater number of houses in the back streets of the city are of wood & only one story high; and the people free negroes & quadroons. [*] A few years ago the levee many miles above the city, being neglected, gave way. The river spread through the marshy forest and filled the back streets where it remained 3 or 4 ft. deep for many weeks. On the falling of the river

the water ran off & dried up, and a most sickly season followed. Great penalties are now attached to any neglect in the repair of the embankment.

There are two theaters in the city, a french & an American. The former is large, and handsome and in every respect superior to the latter, which has only been built three or four years. But as there is every prospect that the English Americans will daily encrease in numbers, while the natives of other nations will remove, the french theater will be badly supported.

After the war in France, and the revolution in St. Domingo, many french families came to this place; but the society of the Americans, the Constitution of the States, and the climate, have all tended to drive as many of them away, as could afford to remove.

The Levee is a place of lounge for strangers, and it is the common practice, to ramble from steam boat to steam boat [*] The captains therefore have their cabins in fine order, & spirits & water at the service of those who come on board to admire their boats, I saw several very large boats superbly fitted up. Among the number were the George Washington, Philadelphia, Feliciana, Hibernia, & Caledonia, all remarkably swift boats and constructed on so large a scale as to afford accommodations which quite surprise a stranger.

The sale rooms for slaves are in the principal streets, & open into them. Passing along one day I entered a room round which I saw about 20 black men women & children seated. I quietly examined their countenances, which bore on them a dull expression of carelessness. A middle aged French lady was examining one of the women whom she made stand up and turn round. She then looked at her hands, felt her arms & shoulders, and asked her if she could wash, sew & cook. The seller was a tall stout well dressed American. He was in conversation with two or three strangers, to whom I heard him say pointing to a part of the room where three children and two females sat; you shall have all five for a bill for 1000\$ [*] payable next January. While this bargaining was going on, some of the slaves seemed to be without thoughts or feelings on the subject, while others endeavoured to appear to advantage.

I was introduced to a young man an assistant judge in the city. He was remarkably attentive to me. We walked together about the town, & crossed the river in a ferry boat and visited a sugar plantation. I drank tea at his house and was introduced to his wife & mother in law. He likewise introduced me to a captain of Engineers and some officers of the line. I once went to a morning parade of two companies in the barrack yard. The men were tall, stout & steady in the ranks. They exercised correctly, but in every movement I thought them too slow. I learnt that the rest of the regt. was stationed high up the Mississippi at a Fort above St. Louis. The captain of the Engineers, has the direction of Forts erecting at [*] the mouth of the river and on the shores of the lake. He gave me a letter of introduction to his lieutenant who superintends the work constructing at the mouth of the river.

The exchange coffee house is the principal resort of the french. Here I found newspapers.—There is a great fancy in most of the cities & towns for oyster suppers, and a traveller whatever may be his taste, can as little avoid them as the system of grog drinking.

I heard that the Duke of Saxe Weimar had been living for the last six months in the city at a boarding house, and that he was much in French society. As far as I could learn, his talents are not so highly rated as his genteel & social manners. From New Orleans he intended going to St. Louis & through the Western States.

A gentleman planter who had served in the militia during the last war, accompanied [*] me in a hack to visit the famous lines, where the British received a check. As he was on duty in them, he explained the situation completely to me. The lines were about four miles below the city. The road to them runs by the side of the Levee, the other or left hand side of the road being occupied in the front by fine gardens and country houses and in the rear by plantations as far back as the cypress marshy forest. The right end of the lines touched the levee & was rounded into a redoubt. The left ran into the wood & marsh. The line was nearly straight and about half a mile long. It consisted of a thin parapet & small ditch in

front, which filled with water as soon as cut, being in part the ditch to drain the land. The whole was quickly finished by the militia which General Jackson has [*sic*] collected in haste. These were spread along in rear of the lines, where they were a few [*] days previous to Sir Edward Pakenham's attack, and after it until they heard of his embarkation, when they withdrew. A few pieces of Artillery were placed at each end, and in a few places along the line. On the opposite side of the river, a work something similar was raised, though not so well made or defended. It likewise extended from the river across a plantation to the wood on the right, and a few men were sent across the river to man it.

The Americans were for three or four days quite at a loss to guess why they had not been attacked, & the wild backwoodsmen began to think the British feared their rifles. It was in the month of Jan'y and cold frosty weather, when early one morning just as the Eastern horizon was lighting up, the sentries placed a few hundred yards in front on the flat arable land, fired their rifles and retired. It was then perceived from [*] within the lines that two columns were advancing, the one column along the borders of the forest, and the other from behind some farm buildings under cover of the river bank. The most expert marksmen were placed in front on the step in rear of the parapet, while the remainder of the militia stood below prepared to load & hand them rifles as fast as they fired.

As the columns approached rapidly, a fire of rifles and field artillery was soon opened upon them, and day throwing light around, its destructive fire was distinctly seen from the lines. The redoubt on the right was entered by the British, but they were afterwards driven back with great loss. The column on the left advanced steadily without firing, carrying fascines or bundles of sticks to throw into the ditch; but the loss experienced in killed & wounded was so great that they could not reach it in compact numbers. Many however jumped into the ditch, & were shot [*] endeavouring to scramble up the parapet; while others when they reached the edge of the ditch cried out for quarter & threw themselves flat on the ground, where they remained till the column finally retired and left them prisoners.—In the mean time

success had attended another part of the British forces, which had crossed the river in boats, and taken the lines on the right bank, where they awaited orders to advance.

But the loss sustained by the British induced them to retire after burying the dead.

General Jackson had experienced some want of zeal or suspected as much & inclination among the inhabitants of New Orleans to aid him in his defensive arrangements. This induced him to declare martial law in the place and enforce the daily attendance at parade [*] in the city of every inhabitant bound by the terms of the militia law.—Several persons who absented themselves were brought into the ranks by files of soldiers. The rich & proud planters did not much relish thus being compelled to drill in the ranks with all sorts of people; and a strong feeling of dislike was felt towards General Jackson whose conduct was characterized as being extremely arbitrary. All would however have terminated to his satisfaction, had martial law ceased the moment it was known that the British had embarked; but the General by continuing it a few days longer induced his enemies to bring an action against him, in the U. States Court, and he was cast in damages which the people offered to pay but he refused to allow.—The wounded men were brought into the city. The officers were invited out, as soon as they began to recover from their wounds; but as the warm weather had commenced, and a vessel lay in the river waiting for them, they quitted the scene of their disaster as soon as all could with safety [*] be carried on board.

As I could not find any vessel bound direct to Charleston, the trade of these two places being very similar, I determined to go by the way of Havana, with which place a considerable trade is carried on.—Mr. [MS blank] got me a letter to Messrs. Castillo & Black, & Mr. Brock gave me one to Colin Mitchel. As I was advised to get a passport, I called on the Spanish consul, who asked my name & that of the vessel I was to go in. Not having quite decided, I left my name and went away to make enquiries for the one which would first leave the port. On my return the consul inserted the name of the vessel (Brig William) & I

signed the passport printed in Spanish which was already filled up, without reading it. I afterwards found that I was described as a native of the United States, which error though it did not appear to me at first of any consequence, induced [*] me while in Havana to be very cautious not to attract the slightest notice, people's minds being in such a state of distrust and suspense.

1826 March 24th.
Friday

I left New Orleans on the evening of the 24th. in the brig William, Captⁿ. Crowell, and in company with the New York packet ship Talma, & a french merchant ship; we were towed down the river by a steamboat.—At daylight in the morning we were near the mouth [of] the river, which divides into two or three narrow channels between sand banks where vessels are often wrecked or injured. [About 150 miles up the river there is another channel at a bend of the river, which runs into a large lake to the South West & thence into the gulf.] The land around is flat marshy & covered with long grass & bushes. On the right bank is a small settlement where the pilots reside. The buildings are of wood supported above the water by strong piles. Some years since the buildings at this [*] place were washed away during a hurricane, which drove the sea in. This port is called the Balise, the name given to bouyes which mark the channel.—As the wind was fair, and we set sail as soon as a pilot came on board & the tow-rope was thrown off, I could not go on shore to deliver to the Lieutenant the letter of introduction from his captain & see the sight of the intended fort.

On board the brig were four Spaniards, one Italian of the name of Philippe, a Mr. Aldridge, a New England trader, a gentleman going to Key West, a station at the southern extremity of Florida, Captain Chase going to take command of a merchant ship lying in the bay of Havana, and a Kentuckian who had the deck covered with 150 fat hogs, which he was taking to market. Planks had been lashed across from bulwark to bulwark, and these served as a temporary deck to walk over the hogs.—Let no one, [*] if he can help it go in a vessel that has hogs on board. Their grunting, fighting, & stench are abominable.—As too small a quantity of water had been put on board for them, they were two or three days without

drinking. This made them extremely savage, they rioted day & night, & frequently destroyed one another. About 20 were thrown overboard dead.—The Italian had some hundred hogsheads of tobacco on board. I asked him how he could gain by taking tobacco to Havana. He replied that more tobacco came from Havana than grew in it, and that it was a practise to mix together the tobacco of America & Cuba.—The Spaniards seemed not disposed to let out their real sentiments, but I could see that they were republicans, though inhabitants of Havana. [The distance from the balise or mouth of Mississippi to Havana is between 5 & 600 miles.] The wind remained fair the three first days that we were out, but light. It afterwards blew fresh from the East & south east. The fifth day we made the Tortugas, small low islands near Cape Florida with a lighthouse on one of them. The following [*] day the wind changed to the west and we crossed over the gulph stream. On Friday morning at day break we made Cuba, a few miles east of Havana and just succeeded against the stream in tacking into the harbour about 9 o'clock in the morning.

Friday 31st.
March

The country appeared hilly & covered with low woods. In the distance I saw the peaks of mountains, quite a novel sight to an eye long accustomed to the flats & marshes of the Western country & Mississippi. An old castle stood near the water's edge, which reminded me of the Old World, and intimated that I was approaching some of its dependent settlements.—The entrance of the harbour is narrow. On the left project high rocks against which the ocean breaks. Their smaller crevices are filled with masonry, and the whole mass supports a solidly built fort called the Moro Castle. From this signals are made, and all vessels hailed as they go in or out of the harbour. The castle is connected by a line of [*] fortifications to a large work called the Cabañas, which stands on the ground which rises immediately behind the castle, looking down upon the harbour & the town. Beyond this work towards the east is a redoubt, built to occupy in advance the ridge of land on which the Cabañas is built and by which it & the Castle might be approached. [In the Moro Castle there are dungeons in which some state prisoners are confined. An

underground communication is said to exist between this work, & the Cabañas. So great is the mystery kept up respecting the works of defence, that I have heard some of the natives maintain that there is a communication from the town to the Cabañas under the harbour! Should such be the case, the Thames Tunnel would be a bagatelle compared to it.] Entering the harbour the bank on the left is steep up to the outworks & walls of the Cabañas. On the right is a sandy beach with reefs of rocks, on which stand a Fort. Passing in you come to the town on the right of the bay which spreads into a fine sheet of water two miles broad. The wharves are of wood, and defended by the batteries on the town walls behind them. Vessels of war & trade from many nations lie here in crowds. At the time of our arrival there were English, American, Spanish & French men of war in the bay, and merchant vessels from America & all parts of Europe.—The bay is surrounded [*] by an amphitheater of hills adorned by plantations, woods, & scattered Palm trees. The town is enclosed within strong fortifications, and on a rising ground about two miles to the west of it, stands conspicuously a large & strong fort. The suburbs are extensive, having fine gardens, full of the rich vegetation of a tropical climate; for Havana is just within the tropics, being in about 22° - 30 north lat^{de}.

We anchored about the middle of the harbour between the wharves and the high works of the Cabañas. Soon after the Captain of the Port, a tall swarthy Spaniard, came on board. Our passports were collected & the brig's bill of lading, and after posting a sentry on the deck he left us. I now learnt that I could not get on shore without a permit from the Governor which would be given to any respectable inhabitant that might become security for my good conduct while in the island. This unexpected news embarrassed me [*] considerably at first; but as several strangers & merchants clerks came on board, to whom the other passengers were entrusting their letters, I gave notice to a clerk of Mess^{rs}. Castillo & Black that I had a letter for them and begged they would get me a permit to land. This request they very kindly complied with immediately, & I got on shore about 2 o'clock in the

afternoon taking a few articles in my pockets. I put up at a boarding house kept by a Mrs. Howard, overlooking part of the Harbour, exposed to the sea breeze and in a short street near the square in which the Governor's palace stands.—The boarders were American & English traders & sea captains. They were just sitting down to table when I got in. I seated myself by the side of Captⁿ. Forbes from New York, who commands a fine merchant ship the Fabius, which had just completed taking in cargo for Cadiz. He introduced me to several gentlemen at table, and after dinner took me to the coffee house on the Square, & on board his ship.—Some of my fellow passengers put up at [*] the same house, so that between these acquaintances and the persons to whom Captⁿ. Forbes introduced [me] I always had a companion with whom either to sit or make excursions about the place. I delivered my letters to Colin Mitchel & Castillo & Black, and had invitations from them to dinner. [The day after my landing I got a permit to land my baggage, which was only slightly inspected as I passed the custom house at the door of which the porter stopped his cart.]

During my stay in Havana which was only a fortnight, the weather was very fine. A few scattered clouds occasionally appeared & one forenoon there were some slight showers. The mornings were quite calm, close & oppressive till 9 or 10 o'clock, then an Easterly breeze sprang up with sea breezes which were delightfully refreshing, and the evenings were tolerably cool. The ther^m. ranged from 78° to 84°. One morning very early I took a boat & went to bathe under the rocks at the entrance of the harbour, but I found the water so much warmer than I had anticipated that I did not repeat it.—The natives however had not yet commenced seabathing, the water being still too cold for them, and I was told that it was considered unhealthy at this season.

The commerce of this place is very considerable, exchanging the fruits of the island & coffee & sugar & tobacco for provisions & manufactured [*] goods. The wharves are so crowded with vessels, that they are obliged to load & unload over the bows, and you can hardly pass along for the piles

of goods & carts passing & repassing.—The population I heard estimated at from 130 to 140,000, half white & half coloured persons the greater portion of whom are slaves. This calculation is by no means certain as so much secrecy prevails relative to all general information; but although the town within the works does not cover a great space, yet as the streets are extremely narrow, the suburbs, extensive, and as the coloured people particularly live crowded together, the above estimate may possibly be within bounds.

Several Spanish regts. are here in garrison, and barracks are seen in all parts of the town. The sound of drums & trumpets, the parades, the armed parties marching from post to post, the sentries at the gates, the salutes & morning & evening guns from the men of war in the bay, and the military costume seen in every street, were numerous & striking contrasts to the sounds & objects in the cities & towns of the United States, and after a long lapse of time, my memory again vividly represented to me many [*] of the former scenes of my changeful life.—

Having so suddenly changed from the cold of the northern parts of the Western country, to the close atmosphere of Louisiana & the hot sun of Cuba, I felt much overcome & exhausted; but as it was my intention to sail in the first Charleston vessel, I lost no time in looking around me. I had been for some time brushing up my Spanish, and I now found it very agreeable as well as convenient to be able to converse with the natives. The heat, however, deterred me, as well as my short stay, from seeking society; but I visited the churches, the Treasury, theater, and lounged through the streets & shops, observing the manners & customs of the place.—The houses are, with few exceptions, of stone, whitewashed, & sometimes painted. The ground floor is for shops & stores, and the upper one with balconies serves for the dwelling appartments. [There are however several exceptions to this arrangement, and in some streets there are many private houses the parlours & sitting rooms being on the ground floor.] All the windows and doors are large, the former having iron bars and shutters to protect them. Except the busy merchants & the slaves, few inhabitants are seen in the streets or windows except [*] very early

in the morning or at sunset, when the ladies either sit in their windows, or drive out in their volantes, sometimes accompanied by the gentlemen, who however, for the most part, walk out with one another, or drink, smoke, play at billiards or gamble in the coffee houses. [The volanty is a sort of gig with a cover to it. The wheels are extremely high, and the shafts long. The body of the gig hangs in front of the wheels, and the driver dressed in a gaudy attire with extremely large & curiously shaped jack boots & spurs sits on the horse. The front of the gig is hidden by a piece of grey or blue cloth stretched tight, and fastened from the foot board to the top. But the sides are quite open and expose the ladies to view from head to foot. They therefore are very particular in their dress, wearing fine white muslin dresses, their heads finely curled & ornamented with combs (hats or caps being entirely prohibited) and their feet and ancles, whose smallness & neat shape they are proud to display, are dressed out with beautiful shoes & stockings.]

The forti[fi]cations of the town consist of large ramparts with bastions & broad dry ditches through which run a small stream ready to lay them at any time under water. The scarps are of masonry from 30 to 40 ft. high. There are five gates to go out to the suburbs. Two of the gateways they were rebuilding; but the works in general appeared dirty and neglected. The arsenal is on the left by the side of the bay and without the town wall. Beyond it on a knoll projecting into the bay stands a fort.—The Paseo or public drive, is without the wall and near a large circular building of wood, for bull fights. On Sundays & festival days, a short time before dark, should the weather be fine, the paseo [*] is seen crowded with volantes driving up and down in regular succession, filled with ladies in their evening dresses. A few dragoons are stationed along the middle of the drive, to prevent one volante passing another or crossing the road, at each end of which there is a semi circle round which all must pass in turn. The side walks are occupied by the gentlemen, who assemble like the ladies purposely to look & be looked at. Though such is the motive which usually brings people to assemblies, walks & drives, yet the Paseo at Havana is remarkable as being a

formal display in public, the purpose of which the very arrangement plainly declares. [As soon as it is quite dark, the ladies return home or visit their friends. Sometimes they continue for an hour or two driving through the different streets. The streets are so narrow and the shafts of the volantes so long that in order to turn they are frequently obliged to go as far as the crossing of streets. All the doors & windows being large, a person standing in the streets is generally able to see into every room on the ground floor, and small groups of ladies & gentlemen may be seen through the open windows sitting in conversation on low & easy chairs & sofas—This mode of life & form of society may be supposed to arise from the jealous character of the Spaniard, throwing social meetings into public view; and yet such an arrangement really affords many unsuspected opportunities for intrigues.]

There are a great many churches & convents, in Havana, but at the time of the last revolution in Spain, when the liberals were in power, the convents were for the most part shut up; since which time it has not been judged politic to place them on their former footing. Some are, therefore empty, & some occupied as barracks. I saw very few monks or priests of any kind. [*] There are certain hours in the day for performing mass in the different churches, when the doors are open. Then such as feel inclined, go in and hear it. I attended frequently in various parts of the town, but seldom saw many persons assembled together. Perhaps this apparent remissness is owing to the number of churches, & the frequency of performing mass.—Two daily gazettes or newspapers are published, but they are small sheets and never contain any public information. The Royal Library is a small collection of books, in paltry book cases in two small dark rooms in one of the convents. There is no reading room in the city, and except from strangers and a few scattered newspapers left occasionally by the sea captains in the merchant's coffee room, no news can be learnt. There are however several book stores in the city, but all the books are very dear.—Talk to a Spaniard, and he will tell you that there are at least 7000 troops in Havana, & as many more in the island; and

that 20,000 are on their way from Spain, to reconquer Mexico. But as far as my observation went, the force and [*] the quality of it was greatly overrated. One regt. called the *Fixed* regt. of Havana (meaning it to consist of inhabitants who could not be sent from home,) said to be 1000 strong, I was informed by one of the privates consisted of no more than from 3 to 400 men, many of whom were foreigners. In consequence of the Royal Government & the great number of military men, as well as persons in civil situations under government, the manners and customs of Havana, are very similar to those in the South of Spain & Cadiz, and though the natives (Cubanos,) boast of their fine island, yet they imitate closely the old Spaniard in almost everything.—The bishop of Havana had a country house & garden about a league south of the city. This residence was kept in good order, and made a sort of shew. The expense of it, however, was beyond his means after the change made in the church establishment & he sold it. It is now much out of order, and except for the novelty of the vegetation, scarcely worthy of a stranger's notice. I however went in a volante to see it, and was much pleased with the picturesque [*] appearance of the country, every where around rich in soil, and highly cultivated.

Having been very intimate while at Cadiz, with one of the Cuba members of the Cortes which drew up the Constitution, I made several enquiries for him. I learnt that his family resided in the neighbourhood of Principe, a fine city in the center & the capital of the island; but that they were at present under a cloud in consequence of their republican sentiments. Two of their friends or relatives had just been shot for holding secret correspondence with the Columbians. I therefore judged it prudent not to make any further inquiries about my old acquaintance, particularly as I had no intention of travelling into the country.

Steam navigation will hereafter be of great service to this island which is several hundred miles in length and very narrow; and as it is under the influence of the trade winds, & subject to a [*] great many calms on its southern side. At present there are two running continually from Havana to Matanzas, which is the resort of many Americans

from the southern states, being considered a fine climate.

In the interior of the island there are mountain ridges, and many beautiful & fertile vallies which are said to be well peopled and very healthy. An opinion prevails in Europe that white people cannot work under a hot sun so well as negroes; but I have been told that in the interior of Cuba, many farmers from Europe work in company with their slaves and are found to be more robust, to labour better, and to enjoy better health than their slaves. The country society is said to be very agreeable, and the proprietors very hospitable. A European of education does not find it difficult to get married to the daughter of a rich proprietor who will secure a rich dowry in lands, houses & stock to his daughter, provided the stranger will engage to live on his property. So [*] attached are the females to their homes, that they will not accept a foreigner's offers unless they agree to adopt as their own the native country of their brides.

The population of the island is said to be nearly divided equally into white & coloured persons. The native white people are for the most part inclined to separate from Spain, but as Spanish troops are spread over the island, they fear, should they attempt a revolution, that the slaves would rise and destroy them. Thus it is that with the terrible example of St. Domingo close to them, they remain apparently reconciled to the imbecile proceedings of one of the worst colonial governments on earth.

A British commissioner resides in the city of Havana, for the purpose of securing the fulfilment of the treaty relative to the emancipation [*] of the slaves. But it is strongly rumoured that vessels, belonging to wealthy & influential inhabitants, are continually bringing African slaves into different ports in the island. A late representation on this subject was made by Mr. Canning to the Spanish minister, and while I was in Havana, I read a royal decree from Madrid, published in the Cuba Papers. Among other provissions, was one offering freedom to any slave who should come forward and declare that he had been brought as a slave from Africa into the island, after the date of this decree. But it was thought by those persons with whom I conversed on the subject, that this decree would be a dead

letter; and considering the fear, ignorance & confinement of the slaves, and the prejudice imbibed from infancy by all classes, that the negroe is little better than a monkey, I am much inclined to be of the same opinion.—If we except the experiment [*] now making by Miss Wright & her friends in the U. States, which may possibly miscarry should no good men of business be engaged to make the slave labour profitable, I have not seen or heard of any proper steps being taken to secure liberty to the emancipated negroes, when they obtain it, or fit them duly to appreciate or enjoy it.—In Louisiana where there is a law prohibiting the marriage of white with coloured persons, I have seen some of the latter (who are called quadroons) whiter even than the whites, and yet these persons run the risk if they travel, to be kidnapped, and though they have become free, cease to be so on entering some of the slave states.—Education which is carefully kept from the negroes, would fit them for freedom, and give them the power both to procure it and to secure it to themselves when once obtained.

Silver has become very scarce in Havana. I had to give above half a dollar to [*] get a dubloon (17\$ in Cuba & 16\$ in the U. States) changed. In New Orleans I was given several Mexican dollars, but these few persons would take, as the government are jealous of the circulation of a coin with the cap of liberty upon it. But the scarcity of the old coin & the poverty of the Spanish mint will doubtless, soon force the new Mexican coins into circulation here as it is doing throughout the U. States.

Once a week about 8 o'clock in the evening, a band of music plays on the square near the governor's palace; then the ladies may be seen sitting on the benches in the open air, and enjoying the close & inquisitive observation of the gentlemen. [The soldiers are for the most part young men. Their countenances give no sign of minds impregnated with any firm or moral principles. Their discipline appears loose, & they seem not to possess that military spirit, which serves to render men steady in the ranks and to give precision to their movements. But they are better than their officers who appear ignorant of the military character & unfit to discipline their men. They seem always to be either listening

to the music of the band, looking at the surrounding spectators, or thinking of their own dress, in place of attending to the movements of the privates.]

At the time when the Spaniards made their first settlements in the New World, they still retained in great force many Moorish habits & customs. On first entering Havana, I was struck with this fact; & as colonies seem to [*] change their habits more slowly than the mother countries, I remarked that I had not seen, in Old Spain, any town so like in external appearance a Moorish city, as Havana.

The foreign merchants are generally more wealthy & active than those of Havana. Colin Mitchell's house is considered one of the first, and as he has now resided so long in the place as to be almost like a native, he is always consulted on commercial matters.—It is very expensive living here. I paid 2 1/2\$ a day, and was accommodated in a very indifferent manner. The expense of governing a people by force occasions an oppressive taxation, which is wasted in the support of persons in office, almost all of whom are open to the lowest description of corruption & bribery. Every person, any way connected with government is looking out for bribes to neglect whatever duty he is called upon to perform [*] and if you observe, he has his hands & eyes always on the watch for what they can catch. A gentleman with a paper in his hand, met me one day in the street; "this paper, said he, "has just cost me three "dubloons; it is a decree that I have been buying. Bribery "will do any thing here."

In every street may be seen one or two tobacco shops, where 3 or 4 or more men and boys sit rolling up segars. A dozen good ones may be bought for sixpence or less, & every body, men women & children, may be seen smoking. As a stranger I sometimes stopped at a window, and asked some stranger's question of the ladies sitting at it, and I have seen a young lady while listening to my enquiries, puffing away with her segar.

There is a real polish and sociability among these people, that led me to think, spite of their ignorance & vices, their company attractive, & agreeable. The Spaniards are social but passionate. They live in much more familiarity

with their slaves than the Americans [*] and at first sight seem to treat them well; but they are unsteady in their behaviour, & will occasionally lose their temper & abuse & beat them like dogs.—I have frequently heard it said that Scotchmen are tyrannical to their slaves; & I think I have myself remarked that when once a European becomes accustomed to have slave servants, he likewise becomes hard hearted towards them; he loses the feelings natural between one human being & another, which is not & cannot be replaced by that Domestic habit which the native of a slave country has in his conduct with his coloured people.

[One forenoon I crossed the harbour in a boat & landing under the Cabañas ascended the steep & rocky bank by a winding path and entered the main ditch of that Fortification which may be called the citadel. A great part of it is cut in the solid rock. The scarps are of a formidable height & part(1)y formed of rock. I got as far as the underground entrance in the middle of the curtain of the Eastern front, when a sentry stopped me. Perhaps I might have continued my rambles with the aid of some silver, but avoiding the contagion I was contended to pass out upon the glacis by another route. There are few guns mounted, and I should judge that all the works are in a rather neglected state. But they are on a comprehensive scale & no expense seems to have be(en) spared in their original construction.

It is a frequent topic of conversation among the Americans, whether Cuba can remain a Spanish colony, or become independent; or whether it be the secret wish of the British government to obtain possession of it. In the hands of Great Britain it would no doubt be a powerful check upon the commerce of the Southern States, & therefore no wonder that fear should suggest the possibility of such a change; but the attempts made lately in congress by Mr. Webster to prove that Spain has no right to sell or cede the island to Great Britain, is absurd. The U. States government purchased Louisiana of the French & the Spanish government ceded Florida to them; surely, then, there are precedents authorising either the cession or the sale of Cuba. But it would be far better (provided the island remain a colony, & not become independent,) that it should not belong to England. The

habits of the natives are not to be easily changed, and they would in all respects be disagreeable to, & clash with those of England. The striking difference between Spaniards & British appears of less consequence, while only a few travellers & commercial men associate with the former; but were Cuba under the British government, the intercourse would necessarily greatly augment, and that in a way the most annoying to national prejudices. I know of no two nations more widely differing on fundamental principles than England and Spain, and I likewise know that an Englishman who studies the Spanish language cannot converse in it, or even understand a fourth part of what a Spaniard says, until he has learnt and been some length of time conversant with their peculiar ideas & modes of thinking. To place then the large & populous island of Cuba under the British rule would, I should conceive, be the height of misjudgment. Better let it remain under that of Spain, than any other foreign power, until its own people or its Southern brethren make it independent. Next to the British, the U. States are the last that should govern it. At the present moment the Americans abuse the islanders, who habitually feeling their dissimilarity, hate the Americans.]

Friday 14th.
April

Having got my passport indorsed by the governor, for which I paid 4\$, I took a passage on board the brig Mary Captⁿ. Booth bound for Charleston and sailed from Havana about 10 o'clock on the morning of Friday the 14th. April.—The guard boat boarded us as we passed and examined our passports, [*] and we were hailed from the Moro Castle.—The weather was very calm & hot, and we were left entirely to the influence of the Gulf stream, which generally carries vessels to the N.E. at the rate of 3 miles an hour. But the strength of the current is varied so much by the winds, that the Captain, who was an old & experienced hand, said that he never could be quite certain whereabouts he was while in the current. We kept on shore till the evening breeze from the land which soon carried out of sight of it.—Every day we had light breezes, generally from the East. We saw a great number of flying fish & dolphins. The flying fish are small and have a silvery blue appearance; they fly sometimes above a hundred yards. Their flight is very

fast, in a straight direction, & just above the surface of the water. The dolphins pursue them, & devour a great many—On Wednesday (19th) forenoon, we made soundings [*] and in the afternoon we came in sight of Charleston light house and the low and woody shores of South Carolina. A Pilot soon came on board, and steering us over the bar anchored us soon after sunset in the bay & abreast of Sullivan's island—the wind and tide being against our reaching the city of Charleston, which stands five miles up the bay on the point of a neck of land (between one & two miles wide) formed by the rivers Cooper & Ashley.

Wednesday 19th.
April—26.

[The brig was laden with coffee & sugar, & fruit for the most part oranges & bananas. The banana looks & tastes something like a green fig. There was a gentleman with his wife & child on board. He was from North Carolina & had been passing the winter months at Matanzas to recover his health after a severe cold & fever. I generally slept on the deck rolled up in my cloak, the weather being calm & close, & warmed by the hot gulf stream.

Soon after coming to anchor we were boarded by two newspaper Editors, anxious to get papers & news from us.]

Early in the morning we got under weigh, and got alongside the wharf about six o'clock. I landed and went to the Planters Hotel, Mr. Calder, a Scotchman who had married the sister of a Mr. Metcalf who was at the head of the Edinburgh Police. The house is comfortable, and the resort of many travellers. Mrs. Calder is a very active & clever woman, and is particularly kind & accommodating to all her [*] guests. I learnt that Jones' in Broad St. is the resort, however, of the most genteel families from the country.

After breakfast I went to the custom house, & got a permit for 25 cents to land my baggage. I then called and gave two letters of introduction, one to Mr. James Calder from Mr. Brock of New Orleans, & another to Mr. Edmonston from Mess^{rs}. Castillo & Black of Havana. They are two of the principal merchants in the place. I was introduced to several other merchants, and in the evening I went to the Circus where I saw a party of Seminole Indians from Florida. They were highly delighted with the horseman-

ship & rope dancing, expressing it by smiles and observations to one another in a greater degree than by accounts of Indian seriousness & taciturnity I had been led to expect. One of the [*] feats of the rope dancer was to hang himself by the neck. The chief of the Indians, who was a prince among them, on being asked what he thought of the exhibition replied that it had pleased him very much with the exception of the above feat which he disapproved of extremely, as it was indecent for a man to hang himself in the presence of his fellow beings.

These Indians belong to a tribe of about 5000. The Americans since they have obtained possession of Florida wish to buy their lands, and induce them to emigrate west of the Mississippi, as well as the tribes bordering on the State of Georgia. They are however better satisfied to remain in the land of their forefathers and free from the warlike tribes who would surround them in the West. The Prince and five other chiefs under the guidance of an American Colonel, are on their way to Washington to settle these points with the government.—The [*] next day I went with a gentleman to call upon them. They occupied two large rooms in an outbuilding of the Planters' hotel. We found them all lying at their length on carpet beds in the same room. Some were mending moccasins, & others various parts of a motley dress of white blue & red cotton. They had coloured silk handkerchiefs tied round their heads. Their skin was dark brown mixed with a reddish cast; and it was much tattooed with black & blue liquids. Their features were large and expressive, and their countenances expressed intelligence shrewdness & benevolence, but the lines in it would lead a person to suppose their passions to be violent. The Prince appeared upwards of 60, & a very healthy and stout built man. His manners were easy but dignified. A [*] negroe servant attended them. The salutation was a shake of the hand, and a slow inclination of the body. No conversation of any consequence took place. The next day they embarked on board a vessel for New York.—Two other deputations, from the Cherokees & Choctaws, whose lands border on Georgia & Carolina, are at present in Washington.—It seems as if no means had been

discovered of fitting the Indian tribes to live in the neighbourhood of white people. The increase of the population of the latter, and their rapid improvements, render such neighbours intolerable, as they interrupt communications by roads & canals, & never advancing themselves, seem disposed to live with the lands around in a wild state of nature.—The [*] Americans who have had long experience on this subject, seem to be generally of opinion that they will gradually encroach on the Indians, till all within their present limits will be exterminated or driven by treaties of some description or other far into the west. They will afterwards, as the population of America encreases, dwindle into nothing. Such a fate is a melancholy prospect for the Philanthropists; but it is difficult for any one acquainted with their character & habits of life, to suppose it possible to change numerous tribes of hunting Indians delighting to roam over the wilderness into the peaceable & industrious inhabitants of a cultivated country in which even the wild appearances of nature are the effects of art. All that can be hoped is that they may leave the [*] whites a legacy of their virtues while they carry with them to the grave their savage vices.

The city of Charleston is about a mile & a half long, & half a mile wide. The streets are straight. Some of them are wide, and contain many good buildings. [Very few of the streets are paved, and as the soil is sandy, the town is most disagreeably dusty in dry weather.] There are several large churches, one of which has a fine spire. In St. Philip's church, the oldest in the city, there is an organ which was played at the coronation of George 2nd. This city resembles an English town more than any other which I saw in the U. States. The wharves are large and convenient admitting large merchant vessels to lie alongside. They are built with palmeto, a spongy, disagreeable smelling wood, which the worms will not touch. The trade from this place consists in rice and cotton, which are considered superior to any in the world.—The rivers Cooper & Ashly are large and navigable, and since the steamboats have been in use, these com- [*] modities, are brought down the rivers to the wharves, instead of being brought in the country waggons through the town. This change of business has greatly

impoverished the upper part of the town, while it has tended to encrease the value of the property near the rivers.

The population of Charleston is very mixed. The coloured persons form a very large proportion of it. There are some french, and a considerable number of English, Scotch & Irish merchants.—Some few years ago a dangerous conspiracy was discovered among the Negroes, to murder all the whites, rob the city, and seizing the best ships, to remove to St. Domingo. The scheme was well planned & arranged by a free negroe, and only discovered two days before the appointed time. About 20 blacks were hung. Since that period volunteer [*] companies guard the city, and no coloured person can be out after 10 at night, unless with a written pass from the master.—Any coloured person belonging to a vessel arriving in the port, is seized by the police & kept in confinement till the vessel sails when he is again sent on board.—The militia have periodical musters. I attended one—the 2nd May, which took place on the race course, a mile out of the City. The governor of the State, Manning, was present. The number, including the city volunteer companies, did not exceed 1000. A dispute about precedence took place between two of these companies, while they were in line before the governor, when in true democratic spirit one of the dissatisfied companies left the field. There is a law that no coloured person can accompany the soldiers, or attend their parades, and any citizen may arest and put in the guard house anyone disobeying this order. The owner of the slave [*] has to pay the citizen a dollar for his release. After the muster of the militia, several negroe children were thus confined for the sake of the reward.—A truly democratic spirit under a Republican Government, should lead a population to be averse to any attempts at military shew. I could not help regretting to see persons, who in their proper pursuits appear to advantage, unnecessarilly & on false principles exposing themselves to the ridicule of lookers on, who know little beyond the art of destruction and are far less valuable citizens than the persons whom they thus have a full opportunity of laughing at. The worth of a national militia is not in the proportion of its acquaintance with

the duties of regular soldiers. It depends upon the good understanding & conduct of the citizens who step forward to defend their rights, and the less they know [*] about the business of regular soldiers, the better will they cooperate together in their true character. Such a feeling would induce them to prefer the plain attire of citizens, and save them from the contagious desire of aping the dress & conduct of the military.—

During the last war it was suspected that the British intended to attack Charleston. The militia were therefore ordered down, & companies were formed in the city. Lines of defence & redoubts were erected across the neck of land just outside the city; temporary barracks of wood were built within the lines for the troops, who were occasionally exercised in their duties. I visited the remains of these works, which must have made the approach to the city very difficult. During the revolutionary war the city was likewise [*] protected by lines across from one river to the other; but the city being at that time smaller, the remains of those lines are but few, and are half a mile within the late ones.—One afternoon I went down the bay in a packet boat to Sullivan's Island, which is formed of sand, and partly covered with frame buildings, the summer residences belonging to the citizens, many of whom pass there the greater portion of the hot season. A brick built fort, bearing a strong battery of heavy guns, is placed on the south side of it to defend the entrance which is difficult in consequence of a sand bank, and bar across its mouth. In the middle of the bay is another Island with a castle fort upon it, and on the southern shore facing it, another fort. At the close of the war two Martello towers were left unfinished [*] which were intended for the defence of the passages round the island to the south & up the Ashley river.—Considering the swampy nature of the surrounding country, and the defences made at the different approaches to the city by land & water, it would require more means & exertion than might at first be supposed to take forcible possession of it in time of war.—The country is flat & swampy for many miles inland, and very unhealthy during summer. The banks of the rivers are the only inhabited parts for some distance

up the rivers, the sea breeze & salt water being considered the best preservative of health. Although the whole of the city is subject to disease, yet that part nearest to the point is considered the most healthy; and the practice in this country is to remove into the city in summer & back again to the country in winter.

Hearing that there was [*] a camp meeting on the bank of Cooper river about 15 miles above the city, I went to see it the Sunday after my arrival. It had commenced the beginning of the preceding week. As it was to conclude the next day, crowds of persons visited it. On board the steam boat in which I went to the ground, were between 5 & 600 persons, principally persons of colour. The camp consisted of a semicircle of huts, which, as the weather was dry, were lightly built & covered with green boughs & leaves. Within this inclosure were ranges of benches with a rude pulpit & similar covering of leaves, & open on all sides. In the rear of all were scattered horses & carts & the cooking huts, surrounded by the forest. In the river lay at anchor a few sloops & boats in which families had come to this annual religious meeting. [*] Most of the white visitors were drawn there by curiosity, as there are always exhibitions of the extravagant fancies & feelings of the superstitious & ignorant. It being Sunday the idle gazers were numerous. Few of the well informed portion of society seemed to be communicants. There were morning, noon, afternoon & night preachings, at which many were violently affected, crying aloud for forgiveness, calling themselves vile sinners deserving of hell flames, groaning loudly, throwing themselves down, & beating their heads & breasts. Between the discourses little groupes were to be seen listening to some fervent petitioner or devout expounder of the faith, while in every direction around, others were strolling or enjoying themselves. The preachers are generally men strong both in mind & body. They have great facility and familiarity in their discourses, and forcibly lay down their tenets, working upon the human feelings. The negroe is consoled in his misfortunes by the hopes which are continually held out to him of equality & liberty in Heaven. [*] These camp meetings, though unattended & despised by the rich & powerful, are, however,

considered by them as doing more good than harm, keeping the idle & depraved in check through fear, and making the slaves patient under their chains in the hope that hereafter their rewards will be proportioned to the degrees of their patience & resignation in this life.—Thus is religion made a political engine in the west, as well as in the east.

[They have two old established Clubs in Charleston, the St. Andrews & the St. Georges. I dined once at the latter. Kean performed one night while I was there. He had been very well received; but this time I heard he was rather tipsy.] [I met Mr. Davis & Mr. Westfeldt, with whom I crossed the Atlantic last summer in the Canada packetship.] The weather while I remained in Charleston was extremely warm and close; the therm. was generally in the morning at about 76° & from 10 o'clock till four or five in the afternoon, at 81° or 82° ; but I was told that in the autumn it ranges from 86° to 94° with a still closer state of the atmosphere.

Having engaged my passage to Liverpool on board the Mary Catherine (400 tons) ship, Captⁿ. Pace, I made haste to look at the Academy of Arts, a small Exhibition of bad paintings, and a small museum, which however, [*] considering that it has been a very short time established, contains a tolerable collection of curiosities.

I embarked Wednesday night the 3rd. May, the Mary Catherine having been hawled into the stream.—The next morning early we moved down the bay & the wind being South East anchored near Sullivan's island where we lay the whole day.—In the course of the night the wind came round to the West, which enabled our pilot to take us over the bar (on which there was not more than $3 \frac{1}{4}$ fathoms, while the Mary Catharine drew nearly two & a half) before breakfast on Friday the 5th; when having a fine breeze off land, he took his leave & all sail was immediately made to the East. [Vessels have been known to wait 3 weeks before they could get a wind to cross the bar. Some expectation is entertained that an attempt will be made to deepen the water by narrowing the entrance, engineers having been appointed to survey it and report upon the subject.]

May 3rd. 1826
Wednesday

[Our ship was laden with cotton.] There were on board

as passengers: Mrs. Muggridge and her two young daughters whom she was taking to school in England, her husband being in business in Charleston: Mr. Lucas, half English & half an American, a South Carolina planter, having mills for [*] cleaning rice near London, a well informed gentleman and pleasant companion: [Mr. Lucas mentioned to beautiful shrubs which he has introduced into South Carolina, the gardenia or Cape Jassamine, and the Lagerstremia Indica.] Mr. Bishop an Iron & Steel Manufacturer from Leeds, likewise pleasant & accommodating: & Mr. Smith a young English gentleman engaged in business. We agreed remarkably well together; and the Captain being a well informed and agreeable man; our Society was easy & pleasant.

The coast gradually deepens at the rate of a fathom a mile till you get into the Gulf Stream which is marked by the sea weed. [We saw two water spouts, while in the Gulf Stream.]

We had light southerly winds with thunder & lightning for the first days. Then a gale from the North East came on, and continued four days. The wind changed on Sunday the 14th. to the West, and carried us at an average rate of 8 miles an hour till Thursday 18th. when we got near the South end of the Great Newfoundland Bank. There fogs and rain lessened the breeze & the wind changed to the northward. Friday night we had [*] squalls, one of which laid the ship nearly on her beam ends, & carried away the main top gallant sail. [We amused ourselves a great part of our time reading. Mr. Bishop lent me Cooper's novels, Precaution, The Spy, The Pilot, The Pioneers, & The Last of the Mohegans. I also read all the Presidents messages bound in one vol. with the Declaration of Independence, & the Constitution of the U. States. To those who have never been a length of time at sea, it would be difficult to conceive the habit of life thus fallen into; confined within the limits of a little wooden world rolling (or rather tossing) in a watery element, for weeks or months together; all known to one another and having almost the same interest; seeing and hearing the same things, and sharing alike in all the vicissitudes of life. A belief that such would be our future mode of life and a practice of a few months, would I think in most cases reconcile mankind to such a state of

existence.—] We continued running at the rate of from 8 to 10 miles an hour till Sunday the 21st., the wind blowing from the N.N.W. Our place at midday was Lat. 43.52. Lon. 38. In the afternoon a sailor fell from the main cross trees into the sea, his legs striking the bulwarks as he fell. We were running at the rate of 9 knots at the time, with a stiff breeze, the sea not running very high at the time. The ship was put about & a boat lowered. One of the hen coops and two planks were thrown overboard, but after an hour's search, the boat returned without having found him. It was supposed that he was stunned by the fall, and disabled from swimming. I saw his head above water astern of the ship, but soon lost sight of him in the hollow of the waves.—When a ship is moving so fast threw the water, she will in spite of the utmost expedition, be far away before she can come round.—[After this accident the conversation turned on the subject of the loss of men at sea, when almost every one related some melancholy tale of a sailor falling overboard, which threw a gloom over our minds for the rest of the day.] [With the N. West wind the ther. fell at one time to 55° from ranging between 65° & 76°.] The next day it was almost calm. In the evening the wind came round to the east, & the following [*] morning blew fresh from the South East, where it continued driving us on, steering nearly east & running at from 7 to 9 knots an hour till Friday 26th. when it lessened. [On the 25th. a hawk alighted on one of the yards, quite fatigued. It soon fell asleep & was caught by one of the sailors. As the wind was from the direction of the Azores, it is probable that this bird was blown from one of those islands. The 26th. we threw a bottle overboard containing the following notice in English, French & Spanish.

Lat.49-10 N. }
Lon.21.10 W. } May 26th. 1826

The Ship Mary Catherine of Liverpool

Robert Pace Master.

Sailed from Charleston S. Carolina on the 5th. inst. & bound to Liverpool. The finder of this bottle is requested to give notice thereof in the newspapers, when and where found.] On the 27th we were becalmed till sunset, when a northerly

wind sprung up. We had light winds through the night. [The 27th. while becalmed we let down an empty bottle well corked & sealed & a cork tied by a piece of twine 100 fathoms under water. When the bottle was drawn up, we found that it was full of water the sealing wax having been cracked, & the cork squeezed & loosened so as to admit the water. The cork which had been tied with twine, was missing, having been compressed so as to escape from the twine bound round it.

During the last week we met and overtook several vessels; one appeared to have a number of Irish emigrants on board going west.] Sunday 28th. we had a fine breeze from the N.W. & smooth sea. The day was cloudy & rainy. The therm. in the cabin at breakfast time stood at 61 $1/2^{\circ}$. Early Monday morning it changed to the East. The day cleared up, and we had a brisk breeze from the N.E. bringing with it the smell of the land. The wind got more round to the East, and lessened in the night. Early on Tuesday we were in soundings 60 fathoms, to the south of the Scilly Islands. We tacked & stood all day to the northward. The night was calm. Some small land birds were seen about the ship. At 4 o'clock in the morning of Wednesday 31st. we were in 80 fathoms water. A breeze sprung up from the north, & we steered an easterly course. Several vessels in sight. We tried to catch fish without success. The wind came more favorable in the afternoon & we stood to the N.E. The Kerry mountains were discerned on our weather bow about half past two. In the evening we were abreast of the Kinsale light house. The night was fine. Several vessels were in sight. After midnight the wind failed. Thursday the 1st. we had a light westerly breeze, and made but little way. The coast of Cork & Waterford [*] [MS mutilated] le distant from [MS mutilated]. We hailed a boat & got some skate & codfish. The day was beautiful; the therm. stood in the cabin between 60° & 65° . A steamboat crossed our way, supposed from Bristol to Waterford. At sunset we were off the Salters light with the Tusher light ahead. The following billet rolled up in a small bit of oiled paper was sewed with silk ribbon round the Hawk's neck;

"This noble Hawk (supposed to be a native of the "Azores) was blown by a South Easterly gale on board the

Thursday 1st.
June 18[26]

"ship Mary Catherine Captⁿ. Robt. Pace, on her passage
"from Charleston to Liverpool, the 24th. May 1826 in
"Lat. 47-10 North & Long. 29-10 West, and was liberated
"with this billet round his neck, the 1st. June 1826 in the
"Irish channel off the Waterford Coast.—Being a beautiful
"bird of its kind, it will, it is hoped, improve the breed in
"Ireland," & the bird was then released from his confinement; but he was too weak to fly f[rom] the ship.

[TO A LITTLE LAND BIRD,¹

Which settled on a vessel, between two and three miles
from the nearest shore.

Welcome, weary, winged stranger,
Welcome to our rocking bark;
Welcome, 'mid this wide-spread danger,
As the night grows wild and dark.

Why suspect us? we are friendly,—
Cease thy fluttering, go to rest—
We a resting place will lend thee,
Here benighted from thy nest.

Yes, the hardy sailor hails thee
As a wand'rer from thy home:
Wonders what can so far wing thee,
Tempt thee, like himself, to roam.

But here's one whose gentle bosom
Feels kind pity's higher swell;
To his bosom, wand'rer, welcome,
There thy sorrows, stranger, tell.

Come and pour thy little sorrows,
They shall touch some kindred chords;
Tun'd to sympathy, which borrows
Strength from what its aid affords.

Yes, here's one to grief no stranger,
One whose breast for thee can move;
Come, then, little airy ranger,
Come, and all his pity prove.]

¹From a clipping inserted in the margin of the Diary.—Ed.

[For the last 3 days we had turtle soup & steaks, Madeira wine, 20 years in bottle, and excellent sparkling champagne.] The following is a statement of the ship's lat. & lon. for the several days of our voyage across the Atlantic:

Charleston		Lat. 32-36	north
		Lon. 80-	west
Sunday	7 th . May	Lat 38.49	Lon. 77.
	8	34.15	....73.42
	9	33.45	....72.20
	10	cloudy	
	11	do.	
	12	34.54	....66. [MSillegible] [*]
Saturday	13	[MS mutilated]	
Sunday	14.....	35.18	....62
	15.....	36.14	....60.30
	16.....	37.33	....57.20
	17.....	39.	....55.30
	18	39.50	....51.30
	19	41.30	....46
	20	42.36	....45
Sunday	21	43.52	....38
	22	44.41	....34.45
	23	45.32	....33
	24	47.10	....29.10
	25	48.50	....25.10
	26	49.40	....21.
	27	50.	....19.
Sunday	28	50.7	....16.
	29	50.8	....12.30
	30	50.20	....9.10
	31	50.48	....9.20

Thursday 1st. June we were off the Waterford coast distant 15 miles. We were becalmed the whole of the day. Our poor hawk seemed to be recovering himself. He was, therefore released from his cage & allowed to walk the deck. In the course of the afternoon he appeared disposed to fly, and at length ventured to try his strength, but fell into the sea a short distance from the ship, and was drowned. We all regretted the melancholy fate of our hawk, after having entered so warmly into the project of sending him safely

on shore. In the evening a steamboat passed [*] [MS mutilated] The whole of Friday we had light winds from the North and made very little way In the evening we passed the New York Packet, two days from Liverpool, off the Wicklow coast. I felt a pleasure at the sight of the ship in which I had twice crossed the Atlantic in most agreeable company, so safely & so comfortably accommodated.— The wind came round to the South, and at day break on Saturday 3rd we were close to Holyhead. The wind was light all the forenoon, & the tide against us; but a breeze springing up in the afternoon we reached Liverpool by 10 o'clock at night, and landed without an accident.

PORTRAITS AND PAINTERS
OF THE
GOVERNORS OF INDIANA
1800-1943

By
WILBUR D. PEAT
Director of the John Herron Art Museum

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PORTRAITS AND PAINTERS OF THE GOVERNORS OF INDIANA

1800-1943

THE COLLECTION

FOR MORE than seventy years the state of Indiana has been collecting paintings. It has not acquired masterpieces of such rarity and worth as to arouse the jealousy of museum officials, but it has assembled in the State House a notable group of portraits. There are forty canvases, the likenesses of thirty-seven of the thirty-eight men who have served as chief executive of Indiana since it was made a territory. There are two pictures of three of the governors, Jennings, Morton, and Thomas A. Hendricks. Except for the portrait of John Gibson, who was acting governor of the territory on two occasions and is included in our list of chief executives, the roster is complete to date.

At present the portraits are displayed in the corridors on the fourth floor of the State House and in two of the executive offices where they may be seen at any time. People throughout the state are aware of their existence but unfortunately few seem impressed with the scope or historical significance of the collection. Part of this indifference may be due to the meager information which is available about the paintings, as well as to the poor lighting and unsatisfactory places for their display. The intrusion of office equipment into the corridors in recent years has added nothing to their effectiveness.

A label attached to the frame of each portrait gives the name of the subject and his term as chief executive. It does not carry, of course, the name of the artist nor the date of the painting, leaving people to conclude that each was painted from life when the man was occupying the governor's chair. Recent investigation has shown that such was not the case. Only thirteen of the portraits, to the best of our knowledge, were made during the incumbency of the subject; the others deviate from the men's terms in office by as little as a year or as much as

a century, depending upon the obstacles encountered in securing adequate likenesses.

A collection of this kind is important for several reasons. Primarily it is a historical record or chronicle: it preserves the appearance, and to a certain extent the personality of each of Indiana's chief executives, and being a collection of large paintings, it lends dignity and distinction to their office. As some of the portraits are the only known likenesses of the men, their documentary value is considerable.

But the collection is significant for another reason. It is more than an assemblage of faces. It represents the work of more than a dozen painters who lived and worked in Indiana at different times, and while some of them are not very well known today, others are ranked as our foremost artists. With the growing interest in American art, particularly that of the frontier regions, more attention is being given to the men who, however humbly, contributed to the rise of a native movement.

The value of the collection to people interested in this phase of the subject depends, quite naturally, upon their knowing who made the portraits and when the work was done. Until lately this information was not accessible: most of it had been forgotten or filed away in archives. Recent studies, however, have brought a good deal of it to light, enabling us now to identify the authors—fifteen in all—date the paintings more or less accurately, and reconstruct the history of each portrait. The following sketches are the outcome of this investigation.

It is not generally known that Governor Conrad Baker was responsible for starting the collection. In 1869 he began to assemble pictures that would "convey to future generations an idea of how the early rulers of Ind. looked."¹ Not satisfied with photographs or daguerreotypes, he undertook the arduous task of getting oil paintings. Seventeen men had preceded him as chief executive of the territory and state, and realizing that delay would only add to the difficulty of securing their portraits, he enlisted the help of the legislature and obtained its

¹Quoted in a letter from James Forbes to John M. Commons, Governor Baker's private secretary, October 11, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence, folder relating to governors' portraits, Archives Division, Indiana State Library, hereafter cited as Governor Baker's correspondence.

authorization at the special session of 1869 "to secure, as soon as practicable, a true and life-like likeness of each of the Governors of the State and Territory of Indiana, including the present incumbent, to be placed in the State Library," at a cost not exceeding two hundred dollars each.² Then he called upon people in different parts of the state to help him find pictures which could be acquired or borrowed as models for artists to copy. His next step was that of selecting the painters for the different portraits—a task which might have been very difficult if he had not already given some thought to the matter, and if he had not counted among his friends several of the local painters.

The sustained interest of Governor Baker and his friends brought about the desired results within a few months, and the foundation of the official portrait gallery was laid. Six artists were employed on the project at the time, working from living models or from earlier paintings or photographs as the circumstances required. Their work seems to have satisfied the Governor and met the specifications of the legislature. Each portrait presented a different problem, as the following pages show. Thirteen of the seventeen preceding governors had died, making the job of obtaining likenesses a difficult one—some had died before the introduction of photography. The portraits of the men who were still living in 1869 presented no serious obstacles.

Since Baker's administration, the collection has grown steadily, each governor posing for his portrait before an artist of his choice, either during his term in office or soon after. Upon acceptance, the portraits have been hung in the State House and placed under the custody of the Indiana State Library. Since 1927 their procurement has been directed by the Indiana Historical Bureau, while the amount appropriated by the legislature has been increased to five hundred dollars in most cases.

For the sake of clarity the following discussion of the individual portraits is based on the chronology of the administrations rather than on the dates of the individual paintings. For instance, the earliest painting in the group, made about 1837, is the likeness of Noah Noble, governor from 1831 to 1837, while

²*Laws of Indiana*, 1869 (special session), p. 11.

the portrait of William Henry Harrison, the first governor, was not painted until 1869. Biographical comments about the governors have, of necessity, been left out of this review.

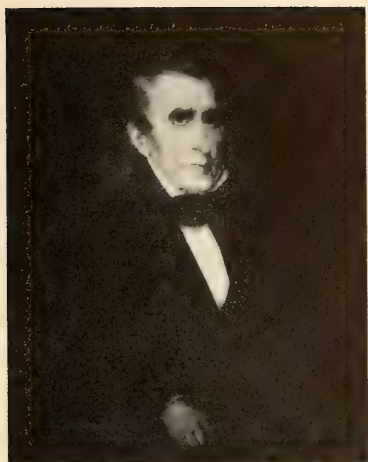
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON

May 13, 1800-December 28, 1812

William Henry Harrison, the first governor of Indiana Territory, sat for his portrait on several occasions,³ but evidently no painting made from life could be procured when Governor Baker was assembling the collection. A copy or replica of another portrait had to be made, and Barton S. Hays, a well-known painter of Indianapolis during the sixties and seventies, was selected to do the work. He was an Ohioan by birth, but had come to Indiana as a youth, settling in Montgomery County and embarking upon his career by making likenesses of relatives and friends in Wingate, Covington, and Attica—frequently for his room and board. Like most of our early painters he found portraiture more remunerative than landscape painting, and, although he had very little formal training, he developed into a very capable technician. His residence in Indianapolis dated from 1858, at which time he established a Daguerrean firm with a man named Runnion. Within a few years he acquired a good reputation, working either from photographs (a very popular method in those days) or from life. It is reported that at this time he was receiving seventy-five dollars for a portrait showing the head and shoulders, and one hundred dollars if it included the hands.

When the commissions for the portraits of the governors were being given in 1869, Hays was one of the leading painters in Indianapolis, and it is not surprising to learn that he was asked to make the Harrison portrait. Unfortunately no records have been found describing its evolution. Since Hays had to rely on another picture, he probably selected one which was most convincing in its likeness and characterization, as well as concurrent in date with Harrison's term in office. A compara-

³Among the artists who painted William Henry Harrison are Thomas Sully, Rembrandt Peale, Henry Inman, J. R. Lambdin, and Bass Otis.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON
by Barton S. Hays



JOHN GIBSON
Artist Unknown



THOMAS POSEY
by John B. Hill



JONATHAN JENNINGS
by James Forbes

tive study of the known portraits of Harrison leads to the conclusion that Hays copied an oil portrait which is now in the library of Bowdoin College. The pose, costume, lighting, and age of the subject in the two paintings are almost identical.

Hays succeeded in making a very forceful portrait of Harrison. It is a good likeness and an unusually convincing character study. Harrison's expression is resolute and tense; a look of incisiveness, and not a little shrewdness, appears in the eyes and about the mouth; the forms of the head are strongly and fully modeled. Some of the picture's strength comes from its rich, deep colors; ruddy flesh tones and deep blacks are placed against a greenish-gray background, and red accents appear at the left where light falls on the upholstery of the chair. The weakest part of the picture is Harrison's hand, due to its having been forced into the picture area from below.

For some years there was a copy of the Hays portrait of Harrison in the State House collection. It was made by T. C. Steele in 1916. This was Indiana's centennial year, and Samuel Ralston, then governor, asked Steele to paint the portraits of four governors who belonged to "epochal" periods of the state's history. They were Harrison, first territorial governor, Jennings, first state governor, Morton, the Civil War governor, and Thomas A. Hendricks, an outstanding figure in the period of development following that war. For the Harrison portrait Steele is reported to have used "prints that had been handed down through past generations as authoritative."⁴ The artist's own inscription on the front of the painting contradicts this assertion. It reads: "After the library portrait, T. C. Steele." The paintings of the governors were always referred to as the library portraits because they hung in the State Library when it was in the State House. Even if this inscription were not on the canvas, a comparison of the two would convince one that Steele copied the painting by Hays.

A few years ago the Hays portrait was taken from the State House and hung in the old capitol at Corydon. In the fall of 1943 it was brought back to Indianapolis, repaired, and hung in the State House, and the Steele portrait replaced it at Corydon.

⁴Indianapolis *News*, May 20, 1916, p. 17, c. 1.

JOHN GIBSON

Acting Governor, July 4, 1800-January 10, 1801;
June, 1812-May, 1813

John Gibson, secretary of Indiana Territory, acted as governor until Harrison's arrival in 1801 and also from the time of Harrison's resignation in 1812 until the arrival of the new governor, Thomas Posey. His position is unique in that he ran the affairs of the state on these occasions, yet he was not recognized as the actual governor.

There is no portrait of Gibson in the State House and until recently there was none in the state. Conrad Baker had written to John B. Dillon, historian, in 1869, about the possibility of obtaining portraits of certain men, among them Gibson, and Dillon replied that he doubted the existence of a contemporary likeness of the territorial secretary.⁵ Baker continued the search during his administration and other attempts were made in later years to supply the missing picture. A portrait believed to be of Gibson was published in the Indianapolis *News* late in 1932 in connection with a series of articles about the governors of Indiana,⁶ but later investigation disclosed that the portrait was not that of the secretary of Indiana Territory but of a contemporary Pennsylvanian of the same name.

It was not until 1941 that information was received that led to the discovery of a John Gibson portrait. In April of that year the Indiana State Library received an inquiry from Mrs. Marie Carey of New York about the career of Gibson. In the correspondence that followed the library learned that she had a portrait of him which had come down to her from Gibson's daughter.⁷ After several months, during which time steps were taken to verify the sitter's identity and establish the authorship of the work, it was purchased by Eli Lilly of Indianapolis and hung in "Grouseland," the Vincennes home of William Henry Harrison.

The painter of this portrait is not yet known. At one time

⁵Dillon to Governor Baker, August 16, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence.

⁶Indianapolis *News*, November 30, 1932, pt. 2, p. 1.

⁷*Indiana History Bulletin*, XIX, No. 4 (April, 1942), p. 150.

it was thought to be Charles Willson Peale, but this cannot be substantiated either by records or by the style of the work. The portrait was probably painted in Philadelphia, and, if we can accept the inscription on the back of the canvas as accurate,⁸ it was made in 1806, between Gibson's two terms as acting governor. There is no reason to doubt the report that it was painted from life.

Gibson appears in the portrait as a heavy, round-faced man, of friendly disposition, with a mild but astute expression on his face. The dark and colorless effect of the picture is due to the poor treatment it has received in the past: at some point in its history it was so vigorously cleaned that its many color glazes were removed.

THOMAS POSEY

March 3, 1813-November 7, 1816

The portrait of Thomas Posey, the last chief executive of Indiana Territory, was painted at the time Governor Baker was ordering the work for the State House. A clue to the whereabouts of an authentic likeness of Posey came through a picture of him in Dillon's *History of Indiana*.⁹ Upon writing to the author in Washington for information about the original picture, Governor Baker was referred to relatives of Posey in Kentucky. They owned a miniature of him painted in 1795 by the noted American artist, Rembrandt Peale.

The man selected to copy and enlarge this miniature for the state was John Bayless Hill, a young local artist. "Jackie" Hill, as he was familiarly called, was born in Indianapolis in 1849, the son of John F. Hill of the firm of Drum and Hill. He studied for a brief period with Jacob Cox, the leading painter

⁸The inscription on the back of the canvas, written in ink by an unknown hand, reads, "Judge John Gibson Indian Interpreter & Judge of Allegheny County. Portrait June 1806 Phila. Given to his daughter Mrs. George Wallace." The inscription was covered in relining the canvas in 1941.

⁹John B. Dillon, *A History of Indiana* . . . (Indianapolis, 1859), frontispiece.

of the city.¹⁰ He was introduced to Governor Baker by A. H. Conner, proprietor of the Indianapolis *Daily and Weekly Journal*, as "an artist of rare promise."¹¹ However, Hill's connection with Cox was probably more of a recommendation than Conner's letter, since we have reason to believe that Governor Baker and Jacob Cox were close friends. Hill was only twenty when the collection was being formed, but he had a studio of his own and must have been regarded as a portraitist of sufficient ability to carry out the order.

A comparison of Hill's painting with a photograph of the miniature shows that he took a number of liberties with the original. Thomas Posey appears younger—much too young if we want to think of the portrait as representing him while in office—and his handsome, boyish face is decidedly lacking in character and expression. It is regrettable that no portrait exists depicting Posey as a man approaching sixty-three, his age at the time he became governor of Indiana Territory. He had fought in the Revolution and with Wayne in the Northwest and had risen to the rank of major-general. His ripe years and wide experience must have given him a forceful appearance, hardly like that which confronts us in the State House portrait.

John Hill's method of working was precise and painstaking. The brush strokes lacked decisiveness and the paint was thin. The colors are peculiar, too; the pale background, mottled with rose and gray tints, seems to emphasize the gentle, wistful character of the subject.

JONATHAN JENNINGS

November 7, 1816-September 12, 1822¹²

The next portrait is that of Jonathan Jennings, the first governor of Indiana after it became a state. The signature which it bears has an unfamiliar ring to students of Indiana

¹⁰Jacob P. Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis* . . . (2 volumes. Chicago, 1910), I, 482.

¹¹Conner to Governor Baker, July 29, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence.

¹²Jennings resigned on September 12, 1822, upon his election to Congress. His term was completed by Ratliff Boon.

art. Dunn says, in writing of the governors' portraits: "there had been a Canadian painter, James Forbes, who visited Evansville, and painted a portrait of John B. Baker, brother of Governor Baker, and impressed the Governor with his ability as an artist. Nothing is known of Forbes here beyond his work, and the fact that he was a typical Englishman in appearance and dress. Governor Baker had Forbes paint his own portrait, and also the portraits of Governors Jennings, Whitcomb, Dunning, and Morton."¹³ To these should be added the name of Governor Boon.

It is surprising to learn that a stranger was commissioned to paint so many of the official portraits, and that his visit was so shrouded in mystery that no one was able to give a report of him after he left Indianapolis. It is known that his name was brought to Governor Baker's attention by H. F. Blount, of Evansville, who wrote to the Governor about his work, adding: "I should be glad if he might be favorably remembered in the selection of an artist."¹⁴ Forbes had returned to Chicago and Baker wrote to him there, asking if he would consider painting certain of the governors. Forbes replied that he would, and in the correspondence that followed he expounded some of his theories on portrait painting but, unfortunately, said nothing about his career as an artist.¹⁵

Contrary to Dunn's statement, James Forbes was a Scotsman, not a Canadian. He was born in Scotland about 1800, had received his training in his native land, and had exhibited paintings at the Royal Scottish Academy and at the Royal Academy, London. It is not known when he came to America, but he had a studio in Chicago after 1860.¹⁶ Dunn's reference to him as a Canadian suggests that he lived in Canada prior to coming to Chicago, but this has not been verified. After completing his commissions for Indiana nothing more was

¹³Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, I, 481.

¹⁴Blount to Governor Baker, July 7, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence.

¹⁵Forbes to Governor Baker, July 20, 29, August 6, and September 1, 1869, *loc. cit.*

¹⁶Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* . . . (Leipsiz, 1907-1937), XII, 201.

heard of him here: even the date and place of his death have not been determined.

As no original portrait of Jonathan Jennings could be purchased by the state in 1869, it was again necessary to find a picture for Forbes to copy. It is well established that he used a miniature which Jennings brought as a present to Ann Hay, his fiancée, upon his return from his first year as Indiana's delegate in Congress.¹⁷ Forbes has been remarkably faithful to the original, and yet he has worked so broadly that his version does not reveal its derivation from a miniature. Since the original was painted about 1810, the Forbes painting makes Jennings look younger than he actually was during his administration. He appears as a dapper young man, stylish in dress, with a forthright, intelligent face. The colors are not bright, but they vary sufficiently in tone to give the portrait a rich effect.

Jonathan Jennings was the second "epochal" governor whom T. C. Steele painted for Samuel Ralston in 1916, so there are two portraits of him now in the State House. These are so similar that it is reasonable to assume that Steele copied the one by Forbes or used a photograph of the miniature referred to above.

RATLIFF BOON

September 12-December 4, 1822

Ratliff Boon, whose short term of three months as governor followed the resignation of Jonathan Jennings, is represented in the portrait collection by a painting which also bears the signature of James Forbes.¹⁸ The portrait can be assigned by means of letters to the year 1869—twenty-five years after Governor Boon's death—and the correspondence shows that the search for a portrait which would serve as a model was directed toward Boonville, Indiana. Isaac S. Moore informed

¹⁷Mabel C. Morrison, *Ann Gilmore Hay, Wife of Jonathan Jennings* . . . (n. p., 1925), p. 12; see also p. 20 for a reproduction of the picture from which Forbes worked.

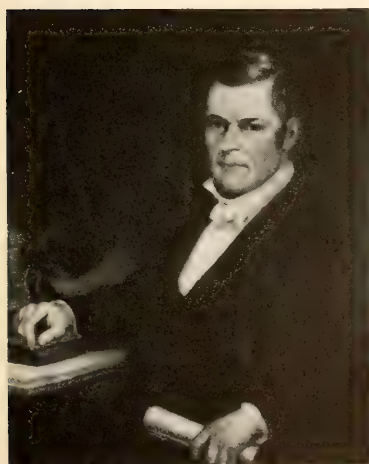
¹⁸This portrait is erroneously assigned to Jacob Cox by Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, I, 481.



RATLIFF BOON
by James Forbes



WILLIAM HENDRICKS
by S. Burtis Baker



JAMES B. RAY
by Jacob Cox



NOAH NOBLE
by Jacob Cox

Governor Baker that John Hacpole of that town had a picture of "Mr Boon said to be a good likeness of him,"¹⁹ and evidently it was the one which Forbes copied. This may be the same portrait of Ratliff Boon now hanging in the old capitol at Corydon, which was obtained in Boonville at the time the capitol building was being restored.²⁰

From this portrait Forbes succeeded in making a convincing likeness of his subject; the pose is quiet but not without the suggestion of vitality; the features are sensitively drawn and clean-cut; and Boon's expression is one of thoughtfulness as he gazes out into space. The colors are full bodied: a black suit and tawny face are set against a warm gray background, and a deep red note is made by the chair on the left side of the composition.

WILLIAM HENDRICKS

December 4, 1822-February 12, 1825²¹

The portrait of Governor William Hendricks presented the most difficult problem of all for Conrad Baker, and makes one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the collection. By strange coincidence, the picture which was ultimately accepted was not painted until 1925, one hundred years after Governor Hendricks' election to the United States Senate and his retirement from the State House. This was the second Hendricks painting that had been made for this project, for in 1870 Governor Baker succeeded in getting a plausible likeness to complete the collection, although few people know about it today.

The story of the first portrait runs like this: After a fruitless

¹⁹Moore to Governor Baker, September 22, 1860, Governor Baker's correspondence.

²⁰According to Judge Roscoe Kiper (quoting from the *Warrick Democrat* of May 14, 1853, manuscript copy in Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis), a portrait of Boon painted by an unnamed artist of Washington, D. C., for John C. Rives of that city was presented "to the Democracy of Warrick County," on May 10, 1853, and hung in the courthouse. We do not know whether this is the portrait which Forbes copied, nor do we know whether it is the one hanging in the Corydon capitol.

²¹Hendricks resigned on February 12, 1825, upon his election to the United States Senate. His term was completed by James B. Ray.

search for a likeness of William Hendricks (the gentleman had shown a decided aversion to posing for artists during his lifetime), Governor Baker learned through John R. Cravens, of Madison, that a man named R. H. Buckley, of New Castle, Kentucky, was willing to paint the desired portrait.²² Buckley wrote to Cravens that he believed he was "the only artist that could be looked to with hope in this work" because he had known Hendricks, and that if he could get certain aids, he would "enter upon it with great hopes of a success." The aids which he obtained included a photograph of the late Governor's brother, Jamison Hendricks, who was residing in Madison; a memory sketch by the Governor's son, Grover; and verbal descriptions by people who had known William Hendricks. We can imagine Governor Baker's skepticism in the face of such unreliable material. Even the artist wrote that "such a work as could be wrought from a living subject is not to be expected." But confronted by the realization that no other course lay open, and being determined to complete the collection before his term expired, Governor Baker told Buckley to undertake the work. The picture was delivered in December, 1870, preceded by a letter from the artist pointing out that if his portrayal seemed too young to those who knew Hendricks in his last days, it was because he himself had "not seen his [Hendricks'] face for a space of more than thirty five years."²³

Buckley's work remained in the collection for a very short time. When Thomas A. Hendricks assumed office in 1873, he was displeased with this portrayal of his uncle and had it removed from the walls. The report of the State Library in 1874 includes Governor Hendricks' own statement of the act: "I have this day withdrawn from the State Library, and the custody of Mrs. Sarah A. Oren, the State Librarian, the

²²In Governor Baker's correspondence there are letters from Buckley (one dated December 5, 1870, and one undated) in which he states that from his sixteenth to his twenty-fifth year he had been a professional artist. He had then taken up the practice of law. At the time he was writing to Governor Baker he was fifty-six years old and desirous of dropping law and resuming his original profession. No further biographical data have been found.

²³R. H. Buckley to John R. Cravens, March 28, April 18, 1870; Cravens to A. W. Hendricks, n. d. and April, 1870; Buckley to Governor Baker, October 31, 1870, *loc. cit.*

portrait of Governor Wm. Hendricks, painted for the State during Governor Baker's administration, because the same is not, in any respect, a 'true and life-like likeness,['] as contemplated by the act authorizing its procurement.'"²⁴ That is the last we hear of the Buckley painting.

For more than forty years there was no portrait of William Hendricks in the collection, and there is nothing to show that any definite steps were taken by state officials to find one. In 1919 word reached the State Library that H. J. Gensler, of the Official Reporters' office, United States Senate, had discovered a picture of Hendricks in a painting of a group of Congressmen. The correspondence which followed revealed that the picture was a study of the House of Representatives, painted about 1822 by Samuel F. B. Morse, and owned by the Corcoran Gallery of Art at Washington. Gensler wrote: "I am pretty sure it contains the only picture of Governor Hendricks extant. I had searched for it far and wide and was told there was none. I discovered it by mere accident, after I had been repeatedly advised by Indianians that he would not sit for a portrait."²⁵ The diminutive figure of Hendricks—one of eighty-six in the composition—was near the lower left-hand corner. Since the picture, according to the artist himself, was not intended "so much to give highly-finished likenesses of the individuals introduced as to exhibit to the public a faithful representation of the national hall,"²⁶ the features of Hendricks were not well defined. This together with the age of the painting, made it a poor model for anyone to copy.

The first plan was to get a photograph of the figure of Hendricks from which a local painter could make an oil portrait for the collection. This scheme failed because the painting had deteriorated to such an extent that the blemishes were more pronounced on the negative than the image. Steps were taken then to have a painting made directly from the composition, but

²⁴Librarian of the State of Indiana, *Biennial Report*, 1874 (Indianapolis, 1874), pp. 21-22.

²⁵Correspondence relating to governors' portraits, manuscript collection, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

²⁶*Life in America* . . . (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1939), pp. 51-52. This painting is reproduced in *Samuel F. B. Morse, American Painter* . . . (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1932), Figure 20.

since no artist was found at the time who was willing to do the work for the amount authorized by the legislature, the matter was dropped. Three years later Merrill Moores, then representing the Seventh Indiana District in Congress, became interested in the subject, checked the accuracy of the key to the painting which identified the figure of Hendricks, and suggested that Edward Lind Morse, son of Samuel F. B. Morse, copy the figure. It was his idea "that the son might understand his father's methods better than another artist." Unfortunately, this plan could not be carried out because Morse was unable to go to Washington to do the work.²⁷ Again the project was abandoned. In 1925 the Historical Bureau renewed the subject and succeeded in engaging a Washington artist to make an enlarged replica of the William Hendricks figure in the Morse painting. Without any more obstacles the picture was finished, delivered, and hung in the State House a year later, bringing to a close an enterprise which had troubled people for more than half a century.²⁸

The artist who finally painted the William Hendricks portrait was S. Burtis Baker. He was born in Boston in 1882, but lived in Washington for many years as a portrait painter and instructor at the Corcoran Art School. His connection with the gallery in which the large Morse painting hung led very naturally to his receiving the commission. Baker's work is conscientious. His broad and turgid style is in keeping with modern tendencies and his work makes an interesting contrast with the portraits of the other early governors. Hendricks' features are strong and thickset, planes of his face are sharply defined, and an expression verging on cynicism or contempt plays around his mouth and eyes. His swarthy face and black coat are accentuated by a gray-green background.

²⁷Correspondence relating to governors' portraits, manuscript collection, Indiana Division, Indiana State Library.

²⁸*Indiana History Bulletin*, III (1926), 162, 182.

JAMES BROWN RAY

February 12, 1825-December 7, 1831²⁹

The next portrait, that of James Brown Ray, brings the name of another painter into this discussion. The portrait has no signature, but Dunn is our authority for assigning it to Jacob Cox, dean of the Indianapolis artists during the post-Civil War period, and one of the most revered painters in the state.³⁰ The style or method of painting supports this attribution. Since the portrait is not dated, the circumstances of its execution are left in question. If James Ray sat for the portrait, it was made early in Cox's career as a painter, for Governor Ray died in 1848. If it was made at the order of Governor Baker in 1869, Cox would have used either a photograph or another painting.

A study of the portrait itself leads to the conclusion that it was painted from life, and in comparing it with other portraits by Cox, it seems to belong to the year 1840. If it goes back to that date, it was not, in all probability, commissioned by the state. We may surmise that Ray conceded to the artist's wish to make a study of him, and that the painting remained in the artist's studio until Governor Baker acquired it in 1869. Although the execution is far from skillful, the artist has given life and personality to the figure—the strongest argument for the conclusion that the picture was painted from life. Ray's expression is not genial; he appears sullen, if not cantakerous; the personal and political quarrels of his administration seem to be registered in his face.

Jacob Cox was born near Philadelphia in 1810, and his youth was spent in Philadelphia and in Washington, Pennsylvania. When he was about twenty years old, he went by boat, with his bride and his brother, from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati. In 1833, they came to Indianapolis, where the brothers established a stove, tinware, and coppersmith business. Jacob had displayed some talent for art in his boyhood days, but he was persuaded

²⁹Ray completed Hendricks' unfinished term and served two full terms as governor.

³⁰Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, I, 481.

to take up a more practical trade and was discouraged from taking instruction in drawing and painting. The tinware establishment was very successful here, but Jacob found his eagerness to paint overshadowing his interest in business, and spare moments given to sketching and reading art books multiplied until painting became the dominant interest of his life. He opened a studio in Indianapolis in 1835 and began his long career as an Indiana painter, which was interrupted by a short stay in Cincinnati in 1842. His reputation grew rapidly, and within a few years he became the leading artist of Indianapolis, receiving many important commissions and attracting to his studio most of the art students of the period. He retained his popularity until his death in 1892.³¹

NOAH NOBLE

December 7, 1831-December 6, 1837

The portrait of Noah Noble is another product of Jacob Cox's studio and raises the same queries regarding date and derivation as does the portrait of Ray. In some ways it is less competent than the Ray portrait, and the fact that Noble died before Ray (1844) may place it at an earlier date. A comparison of the men's ages as depicted by the paintings leads to the same conclusion. Ray and Noble were the same age, but in his portrait Noble appears several years younger, in spite of the lines in his face and the coarse, rigid delineation of his features.

This inflexible drawing is another argument for placing this painting at an earlier date. Noble was a handsome, prepossessing man, judging from other portraits, but Cox lacked the technical knowledge to do him justice. The eyes are dissimilar in drawing, the mouth is weak, the chin large and badly modeled. The artist has also failed to give us a convincing impression of personality. Such deficiencies point to a date around 1837, four years after Cox came to Indianapolis and near the termination of Noble's tenure of office. Like the

³¹For a more detailed account of Cox's life see exhibition catalogue *Paintings by Jacob Cox* . . . (Indianapolis, John Herron Art Museum [1941]).

portrait of Ray, this painting probably remained in the possession of the artist until it was acquired by the state in 1869.

It is interesting to see that Cox has used the same compositional scheme for the portraits of Ray and Noble. The men are seated in similar positions, their left shoulders turning toward the observer and their right arms extending at the same angle. The architectural settings, which lend rank and dignity, are alike in their main features.

DAVID WALLACE

December 6, 1837-December 9, 1840

The portrait of David Wallace is the third in the collection by Jacob Cox and unquestionably the best of this artist's early production. It is well painted and convincing in its suggestion of character, the personality being almost as important in it as the likeness; the subject is seen and drawn more broadly; and the composition is less ornate than in the two preceding portraits. Wallace appears as a heavy man with a round face and clean-cut features. His expression is incisive and resolute, yet sympathetic, and he impresses one as a man of convictions.

The success with which the artist has given these impressions leaves little doubt in one's mind that the portrait was painted from life. But in addition to these internal evidences, we have a statement from an eyewitness of the sittings. Lew Wallace, in his chatty story about his early aspirations to become an artist, tells how he found his father posing one day in Jacob Cox's studio: "When I heard that Mr. Cox painted pictures in oil, I nerved myself and boldly invaded his studio. He was painting my father's portrait when I went in. The coincidence excused me. We became good friends, and not a few of my trancies were passed watching him at work."³²

The context of this incident in the story of Lew Wallace's adventures would suggest that the portrait was painted while his father was governor, between 1837 and 1840. If this is true, it is remarkably good for so early a work. Mary Burnet,

³²*Lew Wallace, An Autobiography* (2 volumes. New York and London, 1906), I, 49.

in her book on Indiana art, implies that it was painted between 1840 and 1842,³³ and Louis E. Gibson speaks of the portrait as having been made after Cox's return from Cincinnati, which would place it around 1843.³⁴ Comparing it with Cox's early portraits, the later date seems most plausible. There must have been a mutual sympathy and understanding between artist and model for so convincing a portrait to have evolved.

It is regrettable that we do not know whether the picture was ordered by Governor Wallace or done at the request of, and as a favor to, the artist. Between the date of its execution and the time it entered the official collection in 1869 it must have been known to many people, but no writer has mentioned it. We do not even know whether the state acquired it from the artist or from some member of the family.

SAMUEL BIGGER

December 9, 1840-December 6, 1843

The portrait of Samuel Bigger is the fourth painting by Jacob Cox in the State House Collection. Louis Gibson, in his article referred to above, coupled it with the portrait of David Wallace and implied that it was painted in 1843.³⁵ While the Wallace portrait is of superior quality and appears to be a later work, there is no reason to doubt that Bigger sat for his official portrait in 1843, his last year in office. Although there are no records relating to its passing into the possession of the state, it is reasonable to assume that Governor Baker acquired it from Cox in 1869.

Cox has painted the Governor in a conventional, unadorned manner. The elegant columns and voluminous curtains which served as decorative devices in his two earlier canvases have been discarded, and instead we see a quiet gray background, relieved only by some law books behind the sitter's left shoulder. The color scheme is gray and dark red. Bigger sits rather erect, holding an envelope in his hand. His face is thoughtful

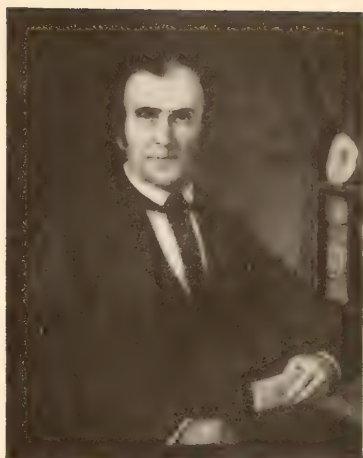
³³Mary Q. Burnet, *Art and Artists of Indiana* (New York, 1921), p. 80.

³⁴*Indianapolis News*, July 20, 1893, p. 5, c. 1.

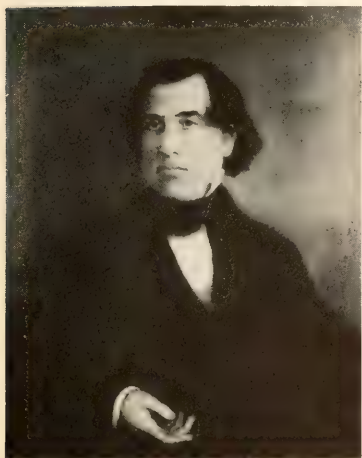
³⁵*Ibid.*



DAVID WALLACE
by Jacob Cox



SAMUEL BIGGER
by Jacob Cox



JAMES WHITCOMB
by James Forbes



PARIS C. DUNNING
by James Forbes

and rather serious. There is a suggestion of nervous energy in his pose. The expression conveys the strain that the Governor is under as he tries to guide the destinies of a state almost bankrupt.

JAMES WHITCOMB

December 6, 1843-December 26, 1848³⁶

The official portrait of James Whitcomb is the work of the Scottish artist, James Forbes. This and Forbes's previous commissions from the state were carried out in Evansville early in the fall of 1869. Like his portraits of Jennings and Boon, the portrait of Whitcomb was painted from another picture.

Whitcomb had died in 1852 and Governor Baker had some difficulty securing good pictures for Forbes to copy. The first that he found was an oil portrait made from a daguerreotype about 1849 when Whitcomb was in the United States Senate. The owner, Mrs. Claude Matthews of Clinton, Indiana, daughter of James Whitcomb, prized it highly and regarded it as an excellent likeness. The artist, on the contrary, did not find it a good model for his work, judging by his letter to Governor Baker: "After I had cleaned and varnished the portrait of Gov^r. Whitcomb, it looked so much improved, that I commenced a copy of it. . . . I hope however you will find a daguerrotype or photograph of some sort for me to copy from—for tho this may be a *very cognizable likeness* It wants individuality—or mental character.—Has a vapid expression that makes one feel they are looking on a poorly *painted* picture, instead of on the man himself."³⁷

A damaged and faded daguerreotype was owned by a descendant in Chillicothe, Ohio, but due to its condition steps were not immediately taken to secure it, a photograph of it being borrowed instead. Forbes brought his portrait nearer to completion with the aid of the photograph, but the finishing

³⁶Whitcomb served one full term as governor and part of a second. He resigned December 26, 1848, upon his election to the United States Senate.

³⁷Forbes to Governor Baker, September 27, 1869. Governor Baker's correspondence.

touches were not added, judging by the correspondence, until he had the daguerreotype in his studio.³⁸

When the portrait was finally finished, Forbes placed it on view in Evansville for the inspection of Whitcomb's old friends. "Drs. Bray, Casselberry, and De Bruler, Major Robinson and several others called to see Gov^r. Whitcomb's portrait," wrote Forbes to Governor Baker. "I am glad to say they each thought the likeness good tho some at first could barely recollect the features after so many years."³⁹ Like the other portraits by James Forbes, the study of Whitcomb, although largely from a photograph, has a good deal of pictorial charm and breadth of execution. The Governor's dark suit and mass of black hair are placed against a warm gray background, with a red tablecloth adding a pleasing note of color to the arrangement. The turn of the Governor's head and gesture of his hand give the pose considerable animation. However, Forbes has failed to convey the intellectual force and fine character which are synonymous with Whitcomb's name. The rather listless eyes and weak mouth are probably due to the poor prototypes Forbes had to follow, and, judging by remarks he made in his letters to Conrad Baker, he himself was not entirely satisfied with the result.

PARIS CHIPMAN DUNNING

December 26, 1848-December 5, 1849

The likeness of Paris C. Dunning, the Lieutenant Governor who filled out Whitcomb's second term, was the first state portrait painted by James Forbes from life. The artist's three earlier commissions—the portraits of Jonathan Jennings, Ratliff Boon, and James Whitcomb—had been done from

³⁸Forbes to Governor Baker, September 27 and October 20, 1869; Claude Matthews to Governor Baker, September 27, and October 3, 1869; Forbes to John M. Commons, October 11, 18, 1869; R. R. Seymour to Governor Baker, October 20, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence. The daguerreotype was the property of R. R. Seymour of Chillicothe, Ohio, a brother-in-law of Governor Whitcomb.

³⁹Forbes to Governor Baker, October 20, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence.

other pictures, and judging from his correspondence with Conrad Baker, Forbes was aware of the superiority of portraits made from life, and was looking forward to the opportunity of painting one or two of the former governors who were still living.

Governor Baker submitted to Dunning his plan of assembling the governors' likenesses, and Dunning consented to have his own painted at the earliest date possible. His reply to Baker was: "I will accommodate myself to Mr Forbes convenience, whom I will meet in Evansville on next Wednesday or Thursday, if that time will suit him. . . . Your recommendation of Mr Forbes is entirely satisfactory to me."⁴⁰

The sittings began in September, 1869, and the picture was ready for delivery in about two weeks, both men having enjoyed the experience of watching the portrait take shape. "The Gov^r. seems much pleased to give me every advantage he can in the way of sitting," wrote Forbes. "He says 'he is here for the sole purpose and desires the portrait may be a success.'—It is of course unsafe to say any thing about it as yet but, I think Gov^r Dunning has individual character enough to make the likeness as strong as I wish, if it should have no other merit—"⁴¹

Looking at the portrait today one feels that the artist made more than a good likeness. He has succeeded in catching the "individual character" which he admired so much in his model. Dunning is a real personality in the picture. His friendly and candid eyes are fixed on the spectator; his posture is alert, and his expression reflects a genuine interest in people and events.

Forbes has used a slightly different color scheme in this instance. Dunning's face and chubby hands are ruddy, his suit is dark green, and the wall behind is warm gray. There are no accessories in the picture except the letter that Dunning holds in his right hand; the simplicity of the composition seems to emphasize the Governor's straightforward nature.

⁴⁰Dunning to Governor Baker, September 17, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence.

⁴¹Forbes to Governor Baker, September 27, 1869, *loc. cit.*

JOSEPH ALBERT WRIGHT

December 5, 1849-January 12, 1857

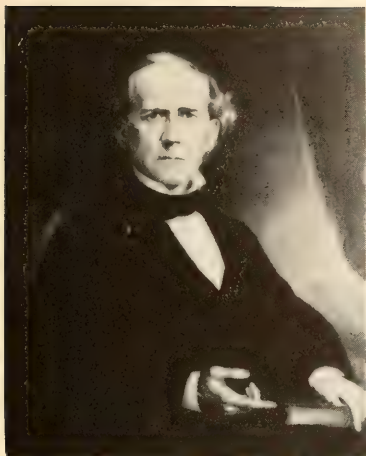
Joseph Wright's portrait in the collection is another by Jacob Cox. It was acquired for the state in Governor Baker's time, but since there are no records of the date or of the circumstances of its execution, or of its history prior to its placement in the State House, we can only speculate about its origin.

Wright left Indiana at the termination of his governorship in 1857 and took over his duties as minister to Prussia. The remaining ten years of his life were spent abroad or in the East. Therefore, in all probability Cox painted him before he left Indianapolis. The execution is such as to lead one to believe that the portrait was made from life: the drawing is firm and the character is strongly suggested.

The expression on Wright's face is as forceful as any in the collection. His eyes are obdurate and penetrating; his set jaw and thin, compressed lips imply an unyielding disposition; and the gesture of his hand toward a statute book clearly suggests his regard for the authority of the law.

Cox has been more successful here in his use of color than in some of his other paintings. The tones are deep and rich. The sitter's black coat fades into a somber green wall, and a dark red curtain cuts into the upper corner of the composition. The well-modeled head is strongly illuminated, giving the face a ruddy hue and making it stand out clearly from the background.

It is interesting to note that Cox had painted five Indiana governors before the formation of the collection in 1869, and one cannot help but wonder if the existence of this nucleus was not a large factor in encouraging Conrad Baker to initiate the project.



JOSEPH A. WRIGHT
by Jacob Cox



ASHBEL P. WILLARD
by George W. Morrison



ABRAM A. HAMMOND
by John B. Hill



HENRY S. LANE
by Jacob Cox

ASHBEL PARSONS WILLARD

January 12, 1857-October 4, 1860⁴²

The portrait of Ashbel P. Willard is the work of George W. Morrison, a fellow citizen of Willard in New Albany. Morrison was the leading portrait painter of the town and its vicinity, and was highly respected as a citizen and as an artist. He was born in Maryland in 1820, but spent most of his life in New Albany, dying there in 1893.

Governor Baker's introduction to him came through Colonel Benjamin F. Scribner of New Albany, who called the Governor's attention to a portrait of Ashbel P. Willard which Morrison had painted in 1857, three years before Willard's death. Scribner wrote: "This picture is still in Mr Morrisons possession, and is considered a *fine likeness* by all who knew Willard in his *best days* It [is] a half length with hands 29 x 36 price one hundred & fifty dolls without the frame."⁴³ It was sent to the Governor for inspection in January, 1870, and as there was some delay in purchasing it, the New Albany press published some crusading editorials on the artist's behalf. The portrait was eventually acquired by the state and placed in the collection, much to the pleasure of the artist and his New Albany friends.⁴⁴

Like most of Morrison's work, the technique is rather painstaking and tight; the pose is rigid, and the delineation of features is accurate but lacking in strong characterization. Morrison had a way of investing his subjects with a mild, genial spirit, and the impression created by his study of Governor Willard is that of a calm, placid personality. The canvas is larger than most in the collection. Willard stands upright, facing his audience as though ready to address them, and holds a letter and a book in his hands. Behind him is a gray wall with a suggestion of an architectural column at the left. Against the background, Willard's dark suit stands out in a

⁴²Willard died on October 4, 1860, and his term was completed by Abram A. Hammond.

⁴³Scribner to Governor Baker, August 3, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence.

⁴⁴George W. Morrison to Governor Baker, January 7, 1870, *loc. cit.*

positive way. This is one of Morrison's best portraits on record, and it adds materially to the collection of pictures in the State House.

ABRAM ADAMS HAMMOND

October 4, 1860-January 14, 1861

The portrait of Abram A. Hammond, who occupied the governor's chair upon the death of Willard, was the second commission given by Governor Baker to John B. Hill, the young Indianapolis artist. (His first was the portrait of Thomas Posey.) As the portrait is signed and dated 1869, there is no question about the authorship or circumstances of the work. It was made from life, eight years after the close of Governor Hammond's incumbency, and while he was practicing law in Indianapolis.

The sitter is portrayed very objectively, and the paint is applied in an indecisive, laborious way, with considerable emphasis on details of costume and lines of the face. Hill was not a skillful technician, and lacking experience as a portrait painter, he had a tendency to exaggerate minor elements, such as wrinkles, folds, and buttons. The color is dull, also.

As one of the few extant paintings by Hill, and unquestionably his most important made from life, the portrait of Hammond is of more than passing interest. The tired and rather wan look on the Governor's face was doubtless due to his poor health at the time the portrait was painted. It will be recalled that he suffered from rheumatism and became so badly crippled that late in life he had to walk on crutches.

HENRY SMITH LANE

January 14-16, 1861⁴⁵

The portrait of Henry S. Lane in the State House was painted eight years after the Governor's very brief occupancy of the executive chair. It is the work of Jacob Cox. Governor

⁴⁵Lane resigned as governor on his third day in office, upon his election to the United States Senate. His term was completed by Oliver P. Morton.

Baker sent word to Lane at his home in Crawfordsville about the collection of governor's portraits, and suggested that Cox make his portrait. Lane answered: "I have received your letter of the 12th Inst. in reference to Painting my portrait, in pursuance of a provision of the last Legislature & I am much pleased with your selection of Mr. Cox as the artist. I will send a large Photograph by Brady which is thought to be a good likeness, ('painfully like the Original') I will give a sitting or two either at this place or Indianapolis as may best suit his convenience at any time which he may designate."⁴⁶ It is likely that Lane came to Indianapolis and gave Cox the necessary sittings in his studio.

The portrait represents the venerable Governor and Senator comfortably seated in a large red chair, holding a cane in his left hand. He looks out of the frame with deep-set, intelligent eyes; the white hair and beard contrast with the dark shadows of the background. His pose is lifelike and his attitude amiable and gracious.

This study of Lane is the sixth and last portrait by Jacob Cox in the State House collection. It is the only one of his works made specifically for the collection.

OLIVER PERRY MORTON

January 16, 1861-January 23, 1867⁴⁷

The portrait of Indiana's Civil War governor, Oliver Perry Morton, was painted by James Forbes. Correspondence between Governor Baker and the artist informs us that Baker had selected Forbes to paint Morton some time before the artist's visit to Indianapolis in the fall of 1869. Forbes looked forward to the undertaking with interest, and not without some anxiety, as is shown in his letter of October 20, 1869:

"I would beg to say—that However anxious I may be to paint the portrait of a gentleman of such eminent abilities as

⁴⁶Lane to Governor Baker, August 16, 1869, Governor Baker's correspondence.

⁴⁷Morton completed Lane's term as governor. He was then elected governor and served until his election to the United States Senate on January 23, 1867. Morton's uncompleted term was filled out by Conrad Baker.

Gov^r. Morton, I am not sanguine he will, from any thing in the two portraits sent, select me to do it—and am unwilling he shall conclude I cannot do a better portrait than either with even less pains than I have bestowed on them.”⁴⁸

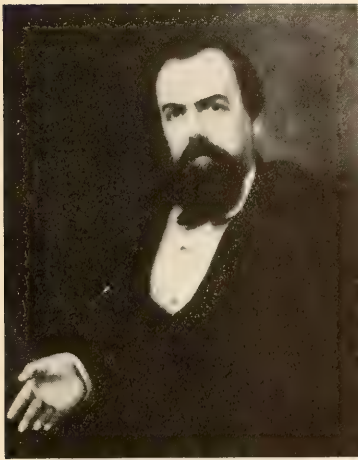
The two portraits referred to were those he had painted in Evansville of Governors Whitcomb and Dunning. Evidently both Morton and Baker were satisfied with the performances, for Forbes was given the honor of painting the Morton portrait. The sittings were probably in Indianapolis.

Forbes has succeeded in making a very convincing likeness, as well as in representing Morton with that determined, forceful attitude which was so characteristic of him. The Governor holds out his right hand in an artificial pose of declamation, his eyes fastened on his observer with an expression wholly unrelated to the gesture. Strong contrasts of dark hair and beard against light flesh tints and white shirt front, the sharp eyes, and the clear demarcation of the head against the background help to give the composition a vivid effect.

Another portrait of Morton in the collection, done by T. C. Steele, belongs to the paintings of “epochal” governors ordered in 1916 for the executive office, and pays tribute to his leadership through the Civil War period. Since the pose is not the same as in the Forbes portrait, we know that Steele went to another source for his model; according to the local press the picture he used came from a relative of the War Governor, “who declared the print an excellent likeness.”⁴⁹ Steele’s version of Morton is more reserved in spirit and more restrained in tone and color than the Forbes work. The subject appears several years older, and he looks off to the left in a relaxed, thoughtful attitude.

⁴⁸Forbes to Governor Baker, October 20, 1869, Governor Baker’s correspondence.

⁴⁹*Indianapolis News*, May 20, 1916, p. 17, c. 1.



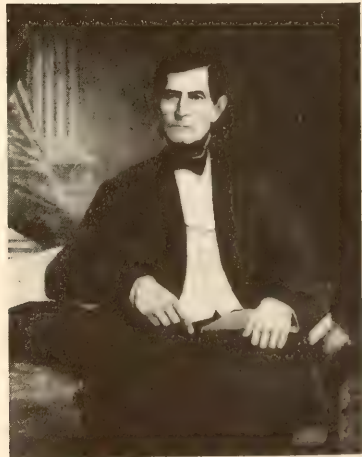
OLIVER P. MORTON
by James Forbes



CONRAD BAKER
by James Forbes



THOMAS A. HENDRICKS
by William R. Freeman



JAMES D. WILLIAMS
by Harry M. Colcord

CONRAD BAKER

January 23, 1867-January 13, 1873

Conrad Baker had his own portrait painted late in 1869 or early in 1870, as he was completing the collection for the state. His respect for James Forbes had grown so steadily as work on the different paintings progressed that he selected the visiting Scotsman rather than one of the resident artists to make it. This was the sixth and last of the Forbes commissions. The picture also has the distinction of being the first in the group known to have been painted when the subject was in office.

Baker is shown sitting in a chair, his body turned toward the left, holding a letter in his hand as though discussing its contents. He is a handsome man with regular features, a heavy beard, and thin brown hair; his expression is genial and his attitude sympathetic. The same rich tones are used here as in Forbes's earlier compositions. Against a gray-green background the healthy ruddiness of Baker's face makes a strong color note; the whites of the shirt, collar, cuffs, and paper are set in strong opposition to the black suit; and touches of green on the back of the chair repeat the general tone of the background. Forbes put his signature on the arm of the chair near the lower left corner of the canvas.

For about ten years the picture by Forbes was not in the collection. It was removed in 1933, at the request of Governor Baker's children, some of whom felt that it was not as good a likeness of their father as an oil painting done by Jacob Cox from life in 1883. The family engaged Miss Clara Barrett-Strait, a New York artist, to copy the Cox portrait for the State House. She was known to members of the family as a capable portraitist and one experienced in making copies of old pictures. Only the head and shoulders are shown in her composition. Conrad Baker's round, chubby face is framed by thinning white hair and heavy curling beard.

The Forbes portrait of Governor Baker was returned to the State House collection in December, 1943.⁵⁰

⁵⁰The portrait by Miss Barrett-Strait is now in the possession of Mrs. Evans Woollen, Sr., Indianapolis.

THOMAS ANDREWS HENDRICKS

January 13, 1873-January 8, 1877

Governor Thomas A. Hendricks had his portrait painted by an artist named William R. Freeman soon after he assumed office in 1873. Freeman, the fifth Indiana painter to be employed on the project, was well known in this region. He traveled rather extensively in connection with his portrait work, visiting Indianapolis more than once as he shuttled back and forth through Indiana and the neighboring states. Dunn reports that Freeman was "a transient here in 1873-4, who stopped at the Bates House and painted several portraits of citizens."⁵¹ The Hendricks portrait is signed.

Freeman was born in New York state about 1820 and came to Vincennes, Indiana, in 1849. He rented a studio there and painted portraits of members of some of the early families. Later he moved to Terre Haute, and at one time he lived in Madison. Following his short stay in Indianapolis, he went to San Francisco, and so far as is known, did not return to Indiana. He died in St. Louis about 1906.

Freeman's canvas is one of the best in the State House collection. Hendricks sits upright in his office chair, looking off to the observer's right with a thoughtful expression. He appears relaxed; his hand, holding an Indianapolis newspaper, has dropped to his lap. His head is well drawn; the figure is fully modeled, and features are clearly indicated. The artist has suggested a candid, honest, and amiable personality. Freeman's style is mellower than that of the painters we have discussed up to this point; and his colors, though limited to grays and reds, are pleasing and harmonious.

Thomas A. Hendricks, because of his achievements as a peace governor, was one of the four men chosen by Governor Ralston at the time of the state's centennial, for representation as an "epochal" governor. Steele's portrait made for this group seems to have been painted from a photograph taken late in Hendricks' life. According to the Indianapolis press, Governor Ralston was especially pleased with the study of "gentle, yet courageous Hendricks whom he, as a young man

⁵¹*Greater Indianapolis*, I, 481.

beginning his study of law, had as a friend. Members of the Hendricks family who have seen the portrait of their illustrious ancestor have expressed their admiration for the Steele painting."⁵²

JAMES DOUGLAS WILLIAMS

January 8, 1877-November 20, 1880⁵³

The portrait of James D. Williams, Indiana's farmer governor, has puzzled local historians for some time due to the lack of information about the artist who painted it. The earliest statement regarding its genesis was made by Dunn, who reported that it was painted by "a Mr. Colcord, an unknown transient."⁵⁴ Colcord's name could not be connected with any work of art in Indiana or in neighboring states, and for a long time nothing could be discovered about the man beyond the fact that he had painted Governor Williams' portrait. A clue to his identity was recently found by chance in a catalogue of an exhibition held in Indianapolis in 1878, sponsored by the Indiana Art Association, controlling body of the first art school in Indianapolis. One item, a "Portrait of M. McRea," was listed as the work of H. Colcord. In the city directories of the period it was found that an artist named Harry M. Colcord was a resident of Indianapolis in 1878 and 1879 and that he had a studio at 37 West Washington Street, the building in which T. C. Steele worked at that time. The dropping of Colcord's name from the directories after 1879 suggests that he left Indianapolis about 1880. Where he came from and where he went remain a mystery.

The style of work in this instance is rather simple and turgid, producing an effect that is generally called "primitive" by art critics. The manner is characteristic of painters who have had little or no academic training, but who possess some

⁵²*Indianapolis Star*, March 18, 1916, p. 7. The paintings of the four epichal governors are reproduced here.

⁵³Williams died on November 20, 1880, and his term was completed by Isaac P. Gray. See *post*, pp. 417-18.

⁵⁴*Greater Indianapolis*, I, 481.

natural ability and an innate sense of pleasing design. It happens to be fortunate in this case: the severe manner seems appropriate for the delineation of so plain and unaffected a man as James Williams.

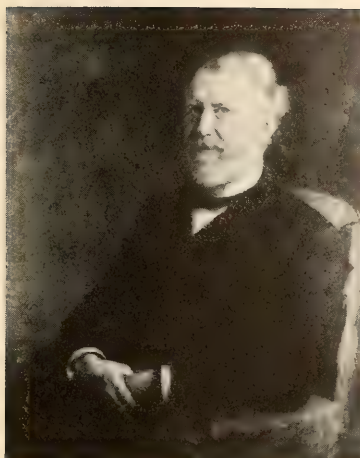
Colcord's canvas is large, and upon it he has worked out an imposing composition. The Governor sits facing the front, his right arm leaning on a table, his legs crossed, and his eyes directed toward the observer. Behind are the official appurtenances which so many artists saw fit to use in portraits of important people—a column and a draped curtain. Even these assume severe lines under Colcord's hand, and echo the angularity of Williams' figure. The "blue jeans" in which the Governor is painted was his customary dress; it gave him his nickname, and made the campaign in which he was elected to office the most picturesque in the state's history. This portrayal of him as a tall, rawboned man, with high cheekbones and large hands, is in keeping with early descriptions.

ALBERT GALLATIN PORTER

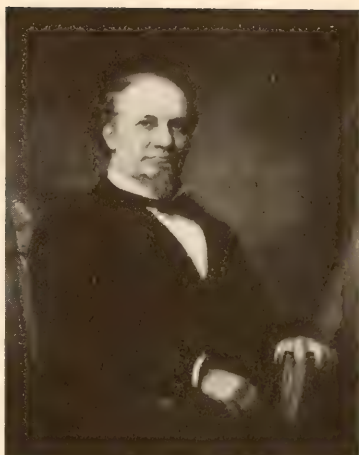
January 10, 1881-January 12, 1885

With the portrait of Albert G. Porter, there begins a series of five paintings of governors by T. C. Steele made in the order in which the subjects served. These are not to be confused with the four paintings made by him in connection with the state centennial in 1916.

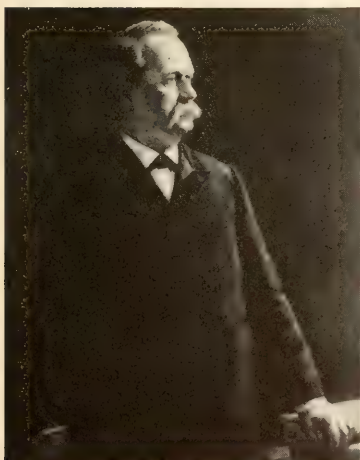
Theodore Clement Steele, perhaps the most revered of all our state painters, was a native of Indiana. He was born in Owen County in 1847. When he was four years old, his family moved to Waveland where he received his early schooling and some instruction in art at the Waveland Academy. He had very little formal training in painting, but he probably derived some help from visits to Cincinnati and Chicago in his impressionable years. His first activities as a professional portrait painter took him to Battle Creek, Michigan, in 1870. Three years later he moved to Indianapolis and opened a studio on the Bradshaw Block where he remained until 1880. Portrait painting continued to be his chief activity during that period, and although he painted several prominent people, he was not



ALBERT G. PORTER
by Theodore C. Steele



ISAAC P. GRAY
by Theodore C. Steele



ALVIN P. HOVEY
by Theodore C. Steele



IRA J. CHASE
by Theodore C. Steele

commissioned to portray the governors then in office. In 1880 he went abroad for more intensive training at the Royal Academy of Art in Munich and stayed there five years.

Upon his return to Indianapolis in the summer of 1885, Steele opened his studio again and began taking commissions for portraits. One of his first was that of Porter, whose term as governor had ended in January. Circumstantial evidence points to the probability that Porter postponed having his portrait painted until Steele returned, knowing something of the artist's ability and reputation. It must have been an important assignment for Steele, in that it would help greatly in re-establishing him in the city.

Technically the portrait reflects the method of painting taught in Munich. The tones are dark, the color scheme is dominantly brown, and forms melt into the background. Steele has drawn Governor Porter's features with a sure, steady hand, and has thoughtfully analyzed his model's character. Porter appears as an intellectual and cultured man, wearing an expression that suggests a serious but kindly disposition. His attitude in the portrait is that of an accomplished jury lawyer.

ISAAC PUSEY GRAY

November 20, 1880-January 10, 1881;

January 12, 1885-January 14, 1889⁵⁵

Isaac P. Gray, who preceded and followed Albert Porter as governor, is portrayed in a gracious and sympathetic way by T. C. Steele. He is seated in a large chair, upholstered in red leather, undoubtedly the one that he used in his executive office. This leads us to conclude that the portrait was painted in the State House. The canvas carries the artist's signature and the date 1886.

Governor Gray is shown sitting erect at his desk with his right shoulder turned toward the front, a book in his left hand, and his eyes fixed on the spectator with an astute look. The pose is natural, and the expression lifelike. The effect of light

⁵⁵Gray completed the term of James D. Williams; he was elected to succeed Governor Porter.

and air enveloping the model is unusually convincing; forms are well modeled without appearing hard, and the brush has moved across the canvas with apparent ease. Colors are few but the artist has managed them carefully: the different tones of gray in the Governor's suit and in the background are set off by the warm flesh tints and the deep red upholstery of the chair. Steele seems to have reached his stride, so to speak, with this portrait, because technical problems have been solved with less effort than in the painting which preceded it.

ALVIN PETERSON HOVEY

January 14, 1889-November 23, 1891⁵⁶

Steele's portrait of Alvin P. Hovey is an impressive canvas, large in size and bold in design. It, too, may have been painted in the executive office; it is dated 1889, the year in which Hovey began his administration.

The Governor is represented in a standing pose, almost full length, with his left arm and hand extended downward holding a book, and his right hand clasping a handkerchief. The right side of his face is shown as he looks toward a window not visible in the picture. The strong light falling on his face and down the side of his long coat emphasizes his stately, commanding figure. His firmly modeled features are set in earnest thought; and although he appears to be motionless, the artist has suggested intensity of spirit and momentarily restrained activity.

The colors are more forceful than in the other portraits by Steele. Against a dark brown background the gray coat makes an effective area, especially as it assumes different values under the strong beam of light; and the rich, warm tones of the face are echoed in the tan books and rose-colored cloth on the table at Hovey's left.

⁵⁶Hovey died on November 23, 1891, and his term was completed by Ira J. Chase.

IRA JOY CHASE

November 23, 1891-January 9, 1893

The portrait of Ira J. Chase, whose governorship was an interlude in his work as a minister, was painted by T. C. Steele in 1892. It is signed and dated. The sittings for this painting were probably given by Governor Chase in the artist's studio in the old Tinker home, to which Steele had moved soon after his return from Munich. The John Herron Art Institute now stands on that site.

In many ways the Chase portrait is the best of the series painted by Steele for the official collection. It has an airiness and warmth about it which is very pleasant; this is in keeping with the tendency of that era to paint in brighter colors and reproduce the effect of scintillating light. The composition is forceful without being pretentious, and the colors, although predominantly gray, are fresh and harmonious. Perhaps the better working conditions that prevailed in a well-equipped studio, away from the disturbances of executive routine, had much to do with its success. Another factor must have been the artist's mastery of a method which was most congenial to his temperament.

Governor Chase is portrayed seated in a mahogany chair turning toward the right. His attitude and personality are convincingly described by the artist, for he seems alert and attentive to whatever is going on around him, and one is made to feel a fine character behind the eyes that look out from the canvas with earnestness and understanding. It is easy to appreciate, through Steele's painting, why Ira Chase was greatly loved by all who knew him.

CLAUDE MATTHEWS

January 9, 1893-January 11, 1897

With the portrait of Claude Matthews we come to the fifth and last of the series of portraits made by T. C. Steele from life. The concentrated light falling on the figure, similar to the lighting in the pictures of Governors Gray and Hovey, suggests the possibility that it, also, was painted in the executive office at the State House. It is signed and dated 1893, the first year of Matthew's administration.

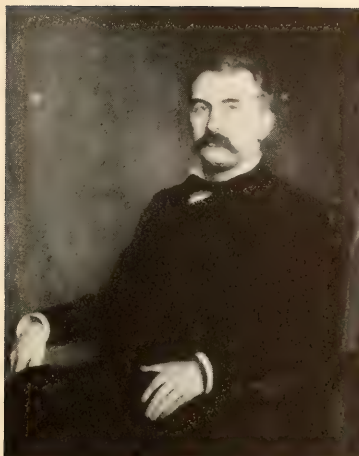
There is nothing unusual about either the pose or the composition; and while the execution is most competent, it is without dash or eccentricity. Claude Matthews, farmer and expert stock breeder, did not present to the artist so rich a personality as did some of his predecessors, although he has the appearance of a capable administrator. Placed in an unadorned setting, his black suit silhouetted against a warm gray background, he sits rather stiffly in a mahogany chair, his arms and hands relaxed. The pose suggests a somewhat self-conscious subject, only mildly interested in the experience of having his portrait painted.

Steele's portraits of the governors seemed to have attracted more comment than the paintings of other artists who had worked on the project. This was probably due to the growing interest in the official collection at that time, and to the increasing popularity of the painter among his fellow townsmen. However, despite his success in this field, Steele gradually turned his attention to landscape painting, and toward the end of his life produced very few portraits. The five by him in the State House are among his finest.

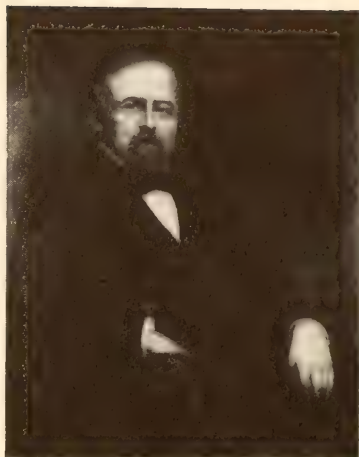
JAMES ATWELL MOUNT

January 11, 1897-January 14, 1901

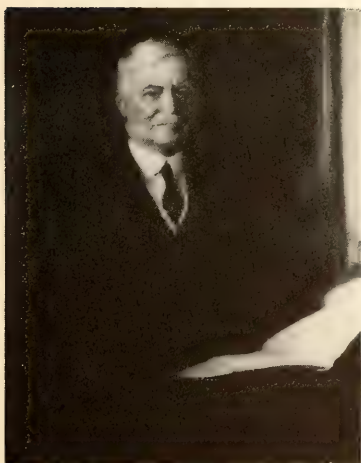
The portrait of James A. Mount is the work of James M. Dennis, a native of Dublin, Indiana, and a resident of Indianapolis during the sixties and seventies. Dennis was born in 1840. He studied in Cincinnati, and lived in Indianapolis from



CLAUDE MATTHEWS
by Theodore C. Steele



JAMES A. MOUNT
by James M. Dennis



WINFIELD T. DURBIN
by Wayman Adams



J. FRANK HANLY
by Wayman Adams

1865 to 1873 and again from 1875 to 1883. In the latter year he moved to Detroit, and continued to paint portraits, landscapes, and murals. He died on May 6, 1918:

Confirmation that Dennis painted the portrait of Governor Mount is found in a letter that he wrote to Jacob Dunn, after he had moved to Detroit. After mentioning a period of study in New York, Dennis said: "I again returned to Indianapolis and painted many portraits and landscapes. Some of the portraits that were painted at that time were John C. New, for the Treasury Building, Washington, D. C.; Governor Mount, for the State House, Indianapolis; Jefferson Davis . . . and Joseph E. Johns[t]on . . . all from life."⁵⁷

The second period of his sojourn in Indianapolis was from 1875 to 1883. It is puzzling to have him say that he painted Governor Mount's portrait for the State House at that time, because Mount was then living on his farm and had not entered political life. His election as governor was in 1896, thirteen years after Dennis had left the state.

Two alternatives present themselves. Either Dennis made the portrait approximately fifteen years before Mount became governor, or he returned to Indianapolis again in or around 1900 to paint it for the collection. His reference to the portrait as "for the State House" suggests the latter possibility. The date 1900 seems more plausible, too, when the painting itself is analyzed. Mount appears as a man between fifty-five and sixty years of age, and not forty as he would have been in 1883. Dennis has used pastel instead of oil paints, a medium he used almost exclusively around 1900 and thereafter.

Another riddle that may be explained some day is why Dennis was not commissioned to paint any of the official portraits in the seventies when other local artists were being favored; yet, after leaving Indianapolis, he was called back (if the above conclusions are correct) to paint Governor Mount—and this at a time when the city could boast of several capable and experienced painters to whom the Governor could have turned.

The portrait of James Mount is not very impressive as it hangs in the State House now, but due to its poor condition it is not a fair measure of the artist's work. At some time

⁵⁷Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis*, I, 482.

it was cleaned by somebody who did not know that it was a pastel and was unaware of the frailty of the medium, and much of the original color and drawing has been removed.

WINFIELD TAYLOR DURBIN

January 14, 1901-January 9, 1905

The official portrait of Winfield T. Durbin is listed as the work of Seymour Thomas, New York artist, in Mary Q. Burnet's roster of artists who painted the governors.⁵⁸ Either this is a mistake, or the Thomas painting has been removed. The present portrait of Governor Durbin is the work of Wayman Adams, and is one of six by this artist in the State House. The painting is not dated, but according to the local press it was completed and hung in 1920, fifteen years after Durbin's retirement from office.⁵⁹

This lapse of time is hard to account for. Durbin did not want the legislature to pay for his portrait so he arranged with Wayman Adams to paint it with the intention of donating it to the state. The reports of the State Library, which frequently refer to the governors' portraits, speak of this gap in the collection between 1908 and 1916 and reiterate Durbin's promise to supply the missing item.

Durbin should have been very pleased with his portrait when it was finally hung. Adams has depicted him in a quiet, thoughtful mood, facing his audience squarely, and holding on his lap a magazine or newspaper which produces a startling white note in an otherwise dark composition. The pose is natural, the head is well drawn, and the paint is applied with facility. Durbin has the appearance of a successful business man, with a face that suggests a forceful personality.

Wayman Adams, one of America's most eminent portraitists, is of Indiana origin. He was born at Muncie in 1883. His early training was received in the evening classes of the John Herron Art School; in 1910 he went to Italy to study under William M. Chase, who was conducting classes in Florence, and in 1912 he went abroad again, accompanying Robert Henri to

⁵⁸Burnet, *Art and Artists of Indiana*, p. 417.

⁵⁹Indianapolis *News*, May 18, 1920, p. 13, c. 1.

Spain. He had already opened a studio in Indianapolis, and upon his return from Europe he continued his work here as a portrait painter. A few years later he went to New York and rapidly advanced to the top rank of his profession. When he painted Winfield Durbin he had a studio in New York, but was spending a good deal of time in Indianapolis.

JAMES FRANK HANLY

January 9, 1905-January 11, 1909

The portrait of the next governor, J. Frank Hanly, is also by Wayman Adams, but it antedates the one of Governor Durbin by seven years. It is the earliest of this artist's work in the State House, and in many respects his best. In addition to his signature and the date on the canvas, we have the following record of its execution in the Indiana State Library *Bulletin* of November, 1913: "The last Assembly appropriated funds for the portraits of J. Frank Hanly and Thomas R. Marshall. Wayman Adams has finished the portrait of Mr. Hanly and it now hangs in the State Library. Mr. Marshall's has not yet been painted." This was almost four years after Hanly's administration closed.

Wayman Adams' technique is very adroit in this and the other portraits of governors. The directness and speed with which the likenesses are put down lend the subjects considerable life and vivacity. Hanly is represented in a front-view pose, his eyes fixed intently on the visitor, and his left hand gripping his thigh. The pose suggests an alert and forceful leader, while the facial expression is one of shrewd deliberation.

The colors in Governor Hanly's picture are deep and rich. His swarthy face and hands, his black suit and hair, and his white vest are seen against a dark brown background. The composition is severe in its simplicity; there is nothing to enrich the background, and no paraphernalia surrounds the model. The heavy, loosely applied paint accentuates the sitter's rugged and brusque character.

THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL

January 11, 1909-January 13, 1913

The portrait of Thomas R. Marshall, the third by Wayman Adams, was painted in Washington, nearly seven years after the end of Marshall's governorship and toward the close of his second term as vice-president of the United States. The sittings were held in his office during December, 1919, and a report of the work's completion came through the story of the Washington correspondent of the *Indianapolis News* that a "very lifelike portrait of Vice-President Marshall is on exhibition at his office here. It was painted by Wayman Adams, a New York artist, formerly of Indianapolis. The portrait will be placed in the gallery of portraits of former Governors of Indiana in the state capitol at Indianapolis. An appropriation to pay for it was made by the Indiana legislature."⁶⁰

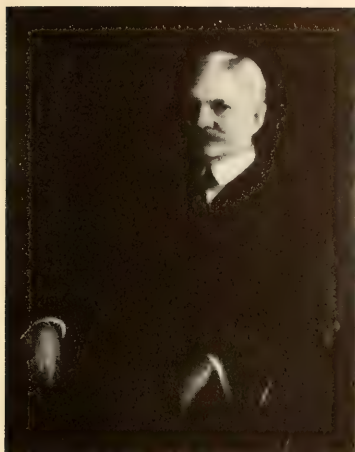
The artist has shown Marshall in a seated pose, relaxed, but not without dignity. He appears to be turning toward his right, his hands hanging listlessly from the arms of a chair. One gets the impression that he was a sagacious gentleman, with considerable will power and inner force; and it is easy to understand, through the portrait, how his personality and industry brought him national prominence. Adams has recorded Marshall's likeness with so suave a technique and with such restraint of color that an air of distinction permeates the canvas.

SAMUEL MOFFETT RALSTON

January 13, 1913-January 8, 1917

Samuel M. Ralston's portrait was the second commission received by Wayman Adams from the state and the first to be painted by him while the subject was in office. The picture was completed in December, 1916, and a local newspaper reported: "Mr. Adams is just finishing a portrait of Governor Ralston and the work is going to stand out as one of the young

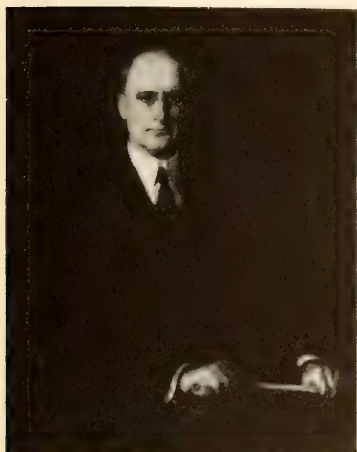
⁶⁰*Indianapolis News*, December 15, 1919, p. 12, c. 8; the portrait is illustrated in *ibid.*, December 20, 1919, p. 17.



THOMAS R. MARSHALL
by Wayman Adams



SAMUEL M. RALSTON
by Wayman Adams



JAMES P. GOODRICH
by Wayman Adams



WARREN T. MCCRAY
by Robert W. Grafton

artist's best. He has the Governor in a characteristic pose, and those who know the Governor intimately say Mr. Adams has done a distinctive piece of work."⁶¹

Ralston is shown in a front-view pose, his right hand in his pocket and his left hand holding some papers. The wide expanse of white vest makes so strong a note against the dark suit and shadowy background that it draws undue attention. Technically, the picture is exceptional: the artist has worked rapidly and with apparent ease, and has caught the likeness as the newspaper article suggests; he has seen the head clearly and drawn it well, and he has studied the character of the sitter sympathetically. The Governor seems to have been caught in a moment of serious reflection, and at a time when he felt both the dignity and difficulty of his office.

JAMES PUTNAM GOODRICH

January 8, 1917-January 10, 1921

The portrait of James P. Goodrich was painted while he was in office, but it did not enter the collection until more than twenty years later. Goodrich decided to have Wayman Adams paint it and forestalled an appropriation by the legislature by offering to present the portrait to the state himself.

Sittings were held in Indianapolis in December, 1920,⁶² but when the work was completed, the Governor did not feel that the likeness was entirely satisfactory; after a lapse of time Adams made certain alterations according to Goodrich's suggestions, but still the portrait was not accepted. When other changes failed to satisfy Goodrich, the portrait was set aside with the thought that another might be painted.

No satisfactory portrait was made, however, during James Goodrich's life, and after his death in 1940, steps were taken to have the one by Adams hung in the State House. Pierre Goodrich, the Governor's son, Colonel Richard Lieber, and other intimate friends of the late Governor suggested certain modifications which the artist carried out to their satisfaction,

⁶¹Indianapolis *News*, May 20, 1916, p. 17, c. 8.

⁶²The portrait is shown in the *Indianapolis News*, December 25, 1920, p. 1, c. 2.

and the painting was accepted. Pierre Goodrich supplemented the legislature's appropriation to meet the artist's fee, and the portrait was placed in the State House in 1943.

The composition is striking in its effect of light and dark, and it has been made severe by an unadorned background and a scarcity of accessories. The colors are deep and rich; strong illumination on the face and collar is picked up again at the bottom of the picture by the rolled newspaper which the model is tightly gripping. Although the likeness is good, Adams' description of the Governor's character falls short of his best work in that the pose is rigid and the expression rather set.

WARREN TERRY McCRAY

January 10, 1921-April 30, 1924⁶³

Warren T. McCray's portrait for the State House was painted by Robert W. Grafton, a prominent Indiana artist. The picture bears no date, but it is said to have been painted in 1927, three years after McCray submitted his resignation as governor. It is a rather frank portrayal of the man. He is shown in a chair, leaning forward with his right arm extended on a table, his right hand resting on a large sheet of paper, and his left hand pressing against his leg. Although the picture does not convey a strong personality, it seems to suggest forcefulness tinged with shrewdness.

The technique is realistic, almost photographic in the rendering of features and details; the drawing is tight; and, except for the flesh tints, the colors are cold and gray. Lacking breadth of execution and pleasing color organization, the portrait loses much of its pictorial effectiveness.

The artist, Robert Grafton, was born in Chicago in 1876. He received most of his instruction in art at the Art Institute there, then traveled and painted in England, France, and Holland. Upon his return to this country, he made his home in Michigan City, Indiana, and soon gained wide recognition for the variety and sentiment of his pictures. Although he

⁶³McCray resigned April 30, 1924, and his term was completed by Emmett F. Branch.

painted figure compositions and murals, he is best known for his portraits of educators, professional men, and public officials. The three which he painted for the state—of McCray, Jackson, and Leslie—are among his most important commissions. His death occurred in 1936.

EMMETT FORREST BRANCH

April 30, 1924-January 12, 1925

The portrait of Emmett Branch, who completed Governor McCray's term, is the work of an Indianapolis painter, Simon P. Baus. It was painted in 1927, two years after Branch left office, and was accepted for the gallery of governors in 1928. Branch was living in Martinsville at the time, but the sittings were held in Baus's studio in Indianapolis.

According to the artist, Branch enjoyed the experience. As the sittings drew to a close, he was frequently accompanied by Mrs. Branch who added much to the genial atmosphere of the studio. The Governor's main concern had to do with his glasses: he could not decide at first whether to be painted with them on or to take them off. He finally left them on.

The portrait shows him in a front-view position, leaning slightly forward, with his eyes directed toward the spectator through large, dark-rimmed glasses. His pose is natural and unassuming, while his expression is kind and attentive. His blue-black suit is seen against a tan background, and a striped necktie adds a colorful touch to the composition. A certain decorative charm has resulted from the artist's tendency to simplify forms and emphasize the pattern throughout the picture.

Simon Baus, the artist, was born in Indianapolis in 1882, and except for a few trips to the western part of the country he has always lived in his native city. He received his first instruction in drawing under Otto Stark at Manual Training High School; after graduating there he entered an evening class conducted by William Forsyth in a building on Virginia Avenue half a block below Washington Street. When the Art Association opened its art school in the old Tinker house on Sixteenth Street, Baus went there to study under J. Ottis Adams, con-

tinuing as a part-time student of the school until 1911. His most important trips, so far as his work is concerned, have been to New Mexico where he assiduously painted the Indians and their environment.

The portrait of Governor Branch is a good example of his method of painting which is characterized by direct brush strokes, bold design, and strong color.

ED JACKSON

January 12, 1925-January 14, 1929

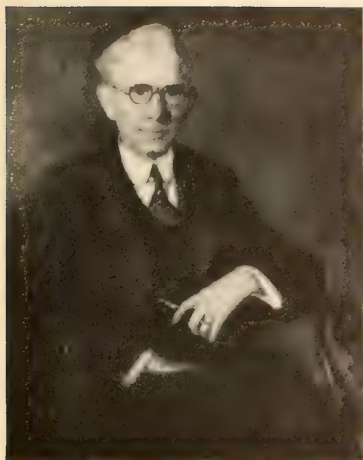
The portrait of Governor Ed Jackson was the second made for the state by Robert W. Grafton. It was painted midway in Jackson's administration in 1927, and it bears the date as well as the artist's signature. That it was made at Dunes State Park should be of general interest: Jackson was greatly impressed by the unique beauty of the Indiana dunes and the consummation of the acquisition of the tract by the state for a park during his administration was a source of satisfaction to him. Since this enthusiasm was shared by the artist, we may believe that the portrait was created under most favorable circumstances.

Grafton has sympathetically interpreted his subject. Jackson is shown seated in a three-quarter-view pose, his head turning back toward the observer. His appearance as well as his personality seems faithfully described. Grafton's meticulous and prosaic method of working, together with his predilection for somber colors, has resulted in a dull effect. Not even the very pink complexion which he has given his model relieves its sobriety.

HARRY GUYER LESLIE

January 14, 1929-January 9, 1933

The third portrait by Robert W. Grafton in the State House is that of Harry G. Leslie. It was painted in 1929, the Governor's first year in office. A certain amount of spirit and animation have been suggested by the forced pose: Leslie



EMMETT F. BRANCH
by Simon P. Baus



ED JACKSON
by Robert W. Grafton



HARRY G. LESLIE
by Robert W. Grafton



PAUL V. McNUTT
by Wayman Adams

leans forward, his left arm on a table and his right hand on his knee, regarding the observer with a look of shrewd scrutiny.

The technique, like that of the other paintings by Grafton, is deliberate and painstaking; the colors are dark, while their monotony is only slightly relieved by a deep red necktie and rosy flesh tints. Shadows are heavy, and the transition of forms from shadow into light is startling. A painting made by this polished, photographic method may lack pictorial qualities present in other portraits but it unquestionably presents a sitter with exactitude.

PAUL VORIES McNUTT

January 9, 1933-January 11, 1937

Paul McNutt was the sixth governor to select Wayman Adams to paint his portrait for the official collection. Although the artist was living in New York at the time, he came to Indianapolis at the Governor's request to carry out the commission. This was in the summer of 1933. Sittings were held in one of the studios of the John Herron Art School, and rather than let the enterprise interfere with administrative duties, the Governor had his secretary accompany him so that letters could be dictated while he posed.⁶⁴ Upon completion the portrait did not satisfy McNutt and his friends, and a second one was undertaken. This time, the executive office at the State House became the studio. The work progressed as well as could be expected under the circumstances, and when the portrait was finished, it had the approval of the Governor.

The canvas is large and decorative, although few accessories have been brought into the picture area. McNutt faces the front, sitting rather stiffly in a chair, with his right elbow resting on a table. A letter held loosely in the fingers of his right hand draws the eye to the lower edge of the canvas, accentuating the long vertical axis of the composition. The pose is dignified but the characterization seems weak; McNutt's expression fails to convey any dominating traits of character. The colors used by Adams are rich, varying in contrast of tone, and his brush work is dexterous.

⁶⁴Indianapolis *Star*, June 20, 1933, p. 9, c. 6; August 13, 1933, roto-gravure section, p. 1.

MAURICE CLIFFORD TOWNSEND

January 11, 1937-January 13, 1941

The portrait of Governor M. Clifford Townsend was painted by Cornelius C. Zwaan, an artist who had recently come to Indianapolis. He had impressed Townsend and others with his ability to draw with exactness and Townsend conceded to the artist's wish to paint his portrait. Zwaan made two paintings. The first was kept by Mr. and Mrs. Townsend and a second was painted for the official collection in 1938. According to the *Indiana History Bulletin* the portrait was accepted and hung in the State House in the spring of 1940.⁶⁵

The picture represents the Governor seated comfortably in a chair, his head turned so that he looks directly out of the canvas. Bookshelves and a desk in the left background give the composition an illusion of space. The colors are rather bright, but not selected with discrimination, and the work is dry and painstaking. The dominant mood of the portrait is one of geniality; Governor Townsend's pose is natural as he looks toward his audience with a calm, amiable expression.

Cornelius C. Zwaan, the artist, is a native of Holland. He was born in Amsterdam in 1872, and attended the Ryks Academy there. He made several trips to the United States, painting portraits in different parts of the country. He lived in Chicago, Milwaukee, and a number of other cities, before moving to Indianapolis in 1935. His Indianapolis sojourn ended five years later when he went to Detroit. One might dub him a modern itinerant limner, carrying on the tradition of pioneer painters, as he travels from place to place obtaining work in line with his vocation.

⁶⁵*Indiana History Bulletin*, XVII, no. 5 (May, 1940), pp. 219-20.



M. CLIFFORD TOWNSEND
by Cornelius C. Zwaan



HENRY F. SCHRICKER
by Marie Goth

HENRY FREDERICK SCHRICKER

January 13, 1941-

The portrait of Governor Henry F. Schricker was approved and accepted for the collection on April 27, 1943. It is the work of Marie Goth, the first woman commissioned by a governor to paint his official portrait.

Miss Goth stands in the front rank of her profession in Indiana. Her popularity as a portrait painter is attested by the many commissions and awards which she has received for a period of twenty years. Her method of painting is direct and bold, combining skillful brushwork with a good knowledge of color and design. She is a native of Indianapolis and studied at Manual Training High School where she received sound instruction in drawing under Otto Stark. Later studies took her to New York where she attended the Art Students League and painted under some of the best-known artists in the East. About twenty years ago she moved to Brown County, Indiana, and it was in her studio there that the sittings for Governor Schricker's portrait were held.

Miss Goth has portrayed Governor Schricker in a cordial mood. He sits erect in a Windsor chair, turning slightly to the right and fixing his eyes on the observer with an interested, sympathetic look. A twinkle in his eye and the upward curve of his mouth suggest his droll humor. The Governor's trim gray suit is seen against a deep maroon curtain, and his necktie repeats the color of the background.

The portrait was given a prominent place in the exhibition of sixty-two paintings by twenty-two Brown County artists, held at the art gallery in Nashville during the summer of 1943. At the close of the exhibition it was delivered to the State House to become part of the collection of portraits of Indiana's governors.

THE ARTISTS AND THEIR SUBJECTS

WAYMAN ADAMS

Winfield T. Durbin

James P. Goodrich

J. Frank Hanly

Paul V. McNutt

Thomas R. Marshall

Samuel M. Ralston

S. BURTIS BAKER

William Hendricks

SIMON P. BAUS

Emmett F. Branch

HARRY M. COLCORD

James D. Williams

JACOB COX

Samuel Bigger

Henry S. Lane

Noah Noble

James B. Ray

David Wallace

Joseph A. Wright

JAMES M. DENNIS

James A. Mount

JAMES FORBES

Conrad Baker

Ratliff Boon

Paris C. Dunning

Jonathan Jennings

Oliver P. Morton

James Whitcomb

WILLIAM R. FREEMAN

Thomas A. Hendricks

MARIE GOTH

Henry F. Schricker

ROBERT W. GRAFTON

Ed Jackson

Harry G. Leslie

Warren T. McCray

BARTON S. HAYS

William Henry Harrison

JOHN B. HILL

Abram A. Hammond

Thomas Posey

GEORGE W. MORRISON

Ashbel P. Willard

THEODORE C. STEELE

Ira J. Chase

Isaac P. Gray

Thomas A. Hendricks,
painted in 1916 for In-
diana's centennial.

Alvin P. Hovey

Jonathan Jennings, painted
in 1916 for Indiana's
centennial.

Claude Matthews

Oliver P. Morton, painted
in 1916 for Indiana's
centennial.

Albert G. Porter

CORNELIUS C. ZWAAN

M. Clifford Townsend

UNKNOWN

John Gibson. Note: This
portrait is not a part of
the State House collec-
tion.



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